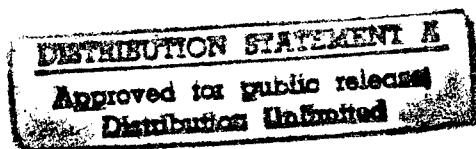


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10 NOVEMBER 1986

# East Europe Report



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ECONOMY

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

# SLUSOVICE AGRICULTURAL ENTERPRISE REJECTS CRITICISM

Prague TRIBUNA in Czech No 41, 1986 pp 16-17

[Text] In an article "To Whom Do Government Regulations Apply", in TRIBUNA No 34 (of 27 August 1986), we have criticized the United Agricultural Cooperative AGROKOMBINAT SLUSOVICE assisted by Ceske Zavody Gumarenske a Plasticke [Czech Rubber and Plastic Enterprises] Gottwaldov (CZGP), for making attempts to include in its wide ranging activities the retreading of truck and rear tractor tires. General Manager of the CZGP Gottwaldov, Engr. Jiri Drexler, CSc, sent us the following comments:

"The article, by its very title, violates the spirit of Government Decree No 18 of 21 January 1986, which reports on the status of efforts to meet the needs of the national economy in retreaded tires for motor vehicles for the year 1986, with prospects to 1990. It tends to distort the meaning and the contribution to society of efforts to build a retreading plant that would meet the needs of agriculture--efforts realized by the subsidiary manufacturing production of JZD AGROKOMBINAT SLUSOVICE.

The conclusions of the XVII Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia task all branches of the national economy with the implementation of a significant expansion of economic intensification and an increase in productivity. They also focus the attention to conservation of raw materials by improvements in use efficiency, increased value added, and reduction in the material-intensive nature of production in order to contribute to the planned formation and growth of national income.

One way of achieving material and energy savings in rubber industry is the expansion of retreading plants under the jurisdiction of the local economic organizations in the sense of the above cited government regulations. This may also be achieved through the development of specialized retreading capacities built to meet local needs of the agriculture in place where the shortage of tires and retreads is most pronounced. This year, for example, the trade enterprise BARUM in Gottwaldov has about 10,000 treadbare truck and agricultural tires for which it was unable to find retreading facilities in the local enterprises.

Developments of the past 10 years indicate that the volume of retreading has increased each year. From 1973 to 1983, the retreading in CSSR increased by an index of 2.19 for personal vehicles, by 1.79 for trucks and buses, and as much

as 2.70 for tractors. The achieved results are still not satisfactory. While in countries with advanced tire industry, the retreading of truck tires has an index of 0.95, and that of radial tires as much as 1.5, our levels are substantially below this average. The situation is most serious in the case of drive wheels for tractors where only about 44 percent of new tires are being retreaded. This is significantly below our economic and technological capabilities and in contradiction with the national needs.

The above facts led to discussions between the general management of CZGP and the JZD AGROKOMBINAT SLUSOVICE concerning the building of a new capacity for retreading truck and tractor tires for agricultural enterprises. These discussions were guided by the express intention not to interfere in the activities of the local economic organization and, on the contrary, to free some of their own capacities for the satisfaction of special needs of the other branches of the national economy as well as for users of privately owned vehicles in cases where the waiting period for new retreads is up to several months, a condition which, to a significant extent, negatively affects the interest in the extension of the life of the tires by means of retreading.

As far as the Economic Production Unit Ceske Zavody Gumarenske a Plastikarske (GZGP) is concerned, the resulting research, cooperation and production contract does not violate existing agreements with local economic organizations for the production and delivery of retreading materials. It concerns only the exchange of expertise and experience in rubber production and retreading, training of employees for this production and support in the supply of required chemicals and supplementary materials. Trade Enterprise BARUM will be responsible for the purchase and delivery of treadbare tires and will buy previously agreed to quantities of retreads for resale. These activities are in full compliance with our economic mission and they contribute in a desirable manner to the solution of urgent needs of our national economy, both in the narrower sense of dealing with an unfavorable situation and, in the broader sense, of contributing to national economy by conserving raw materials and energy.

I believe that the published criticism of our strategy has enabled us to clarify the reasons for and the extent of the cooperation in solving the problems of retreading of used tires. In developing this initiative in the first place, we had the national requirement in mind while trying to minimize the contradictions in satisfying the demand of the agriculture. If neglected, the contradictions would have resulted in reduced efficiency of the agricultural mechanisms and negatively affected the intensification process. Furthermore, from the view of production of rubberized compounds for retreading, the contract with the JZD AGROKOMBINAT represents a minimal burden on the production capacity of VHJ CZPG.

In conclusion, I believe that I have objectively outlined our standpoint and I can assure you, that it was presented strictly with the intention to solve current national tire shortages."

JIRI DREXLER  
General Manager  
Ceske Zavody Gumarenske  
a Plastikarske, Gottwaldov

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CSO: 2400/31



ECONOMY

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

# INTRA-COMBINE ORDER REGULATIONS, FUTURE DEVELOPMENT DEFINED

East Berlin WIRTSCHAFTSRECHT in German Vol 16 No 2, 1985 (signed to press 28 Feb 85) pp 43-5

[Article by Dr. sc. Manfred Hieke, lecturer, department of jurisprudence, Karl Marx University, Leipzig, and Heinz Koehler, legal counsellor, "Fritz Heckert" VEB Machine Tool Combine, Karl-Marx-Stadt]

[Text] For basic guideline positions of the production schedule, a quarterly specification of intra-combine supply contracts is, in most instances, possible and useful.

Whenever centralized manufacturing is based on product-specific planning, fully specified supply contracts make sense, and the possibility of concluding quarterly contracts should be examined.

Order deadlines should be established in accordance with the rules of the Order and Delivery Terms Regulation.

In the future, the intra-combine order system must be organized in a way that pays particular attention to the requirements that are the result of the more dynamic economic processes. Towards that end, it is of prime importance for the combines as a whole to be more flexible, and that includes safeguarding entire cooperation chains and requires appropriate intra-combine rules with clearly established decision-making processes. Most of the current order regulations in the combines do not yet meet these requirements, but they do show the first beginnings of possible solutions and, in special cases, already promising solutions. (Footnote 1) (The article is based on analyses of cooperation ordinances with order regulations as well as on preliminary research in combines, including the "Fritz Heckert" Machine Tool Combine in Karl-Marx-Stadt. They were prepared after the Order and Delivery Terms Regulation [Legal Gazette I 1984, Nr 2 p 2] went into effect.)

## On the Present State of Order Regulations

Most current order rules in combine regulations are short and frequently limited to setting deadlines. Depending on the article, a distinction is made between components bought on the basis of drawings and other supplies. Components manufactured on the basis of drawings must be ordered earlier,

and certain documents must be attached (drawings, lists of items, etc.) Another distinction is between those supplies that are also used in other production areas and those that are combine-specific (primarily individual components and groups of components that are centrally produced in the combine). The regulations also differentiate between individual components and groups of components. They specify that component groups must be ordered one month earlier. Other combines distinguish in their regulations between supplies and cooperative work efforts (e.g., milling, drilling, grinding).

The older regulations require that supplies must be ordered early, between 1 March and 30 April of the preceding year, that is, before the state assigns quotas. In some instances, the order dates are even earlier, but that has not worked out for contract offers. (Footnote 2) (For instance, one combine required that orders be placed as early as the year before the last year. Student research has demonstrated that, as a result of uncertainties with respect to actual requirements, which at such an early stage are unavoidable, it was frequently necessary to change the orders and that, therefore, the orders could not be used as contract offers. Only under certain conditions did they prove useful for planning purposes.)

Some of the older regulations already contain the stipulation that orders must be placed for general product groups or specific product groups (the Textima Combine in Karl-Marx-Stadt and the "Fritz Heckert" Machine Tool Combine in Karl-Marx-Stadt) or quantity, to be delivered in stages (first, 80 percent of requirements, the remainder for later delivery); still, the detailed specification or completion of the delivery, respectively, must be indicated for the entire planning year and before the state establishes quotas.

#### Basic Problems of Revising Intra-combine Order Regulations

So far, the main obstacle to drafting rules that would make the combines more responsive to market demands and scientific-technological progress has been the attempt to use the existing operations planning system, which requires that annual operational plans are specified in line with the items in the ELN [Product and Performance Nomenclature] and the ZAK [(Central Product Catalogue)]--(Footnote 3) (Cf. Nr 1.1.2, paras 1 and 6 of the 30 Nov 1979 Ordinance on the General Planning Guideline in Industrial and Construction Combines and Enterprises [Legal Gazette Special Nr 1021])--and the system ensuring the consistency of plan, balance sheet and contract, as a basis for revising the intra-combine order system. Until now, this consistency was determined by annual production decisions, fully specified annual performance contracts and detailed annual operations plans (Footnote 4) (Cf. para 16 of the Accounting Ordinance [Legal Gazette I 1980 Nr 1, p 1]). These rules are based on the belief that changes occurring during the planning year can be limited and taken care of by making adjustments in the annual financial statements and annual contracts. This basic model cannot be continued in its current form because it no longer meets today's requirement that combines and enterprises must be more responsive.) In view of the fact that the annual plans of enterprises are fully specified, it is difficult to consider annual contracts with general specifications as useful since detailed operational planning already indicates the specific requirements for the entire planning

year. (Footnote 5) (For instance, the change-over to ordering and contracting in terms of general product lines is unacceptable because planning is done in a product-specific way.) However, the 3 December 1984 Regulation on Quarterly and Monthly Planning, which is closely related to the Order and Delivery Terms Regulation, stipulates that state quotas must be listed on a quarterly basis. (Footnote 6) (Para. 3 in conjunction with attachment 3 of the 3 December 1984 Regulation on Quarterly and Monthly Planning as well as on the Release and Efficient Use of Materials [Legal Gazette I Nr. 35 p 417]) This shows that operational planning and ensuring the consistency of plan, balance sheet and contract produce new qualitative aspects which must be seen as the starting point for regulating the intra-combine order system or for preliminary considerations. This, no doubt, makes it necessary to overcome ideological reservations, but it also has to be kept in mind that no system with fully acceptable elements has as yet been designed. (Footnote 7) (This relates primarily to issues concerning supply security, such as the capability to deliver and the availability of adequate stocks on the part of suppliers and capital goods dealers, supply standardization, financing and supply credits. This is also why some combines are concerned that they may be unable to participate if they place their orders at a later date.) Nevertheless, a wait-and-see attitude would only delay the absolutely necessary adaptation of combine regulations to new production conditions.

#### Potential Regulatory Variants

##### 1. Contract for General Product Lines with Quarterly Specifications

At present, the plants of a combine are placing, almost exclusively, fully specified orders and work with fully specified performance contracts for the planning year. It is no doubt possible to switch to general contracts with quarterly specifications, as Robotron's intra-combine regulation has proven. This regulation covers the electronic building-elements product line and, in essence, embodies the regulatory principle of the Order and Delivery Terms Ordinance. The rules of the regulation correspond to the arrangements in a coordination contract between Robotron and its subcontractor combine which are to ensure that the regulations are also observed in outside relations.

We believe that in the case of intra-combine supplies that are part of the production schedule guidelines, it will often be useful to specify intra-combine deliveries on a quarterly basis whenever operations are no longer planned in line with the ZAK for the entire planning year. Exceptions are individual, centrally manufactured components and groups of components (this will be discussed separately). Orders in the form of general product lines are not advisable if buyer specifications force the supplier to change the type of material he uses and if the supplier is unable to make his order specific unless he signs a new contract with his subcontractor. General product line orders are of no use if the specifications require a change in suppliers, e.g., if the supplier specializes in specific sizes, as, for instance, foundries do. Neither are orders for general product lines appropriate when the products in question are specified to the eighth digit of the product schedule and when the coordinating process provides the necessary planning information so that no new contractual arrangements need to be made.

Regardless of whether a specification is made on a quarterly basis or whether a fully specified annual contract is signed, the combines and enterprises are obligated to obtain each quarter an accurate picture of their contractual obligations and of the precise extent to which their contracts for specific goods have been fulfilled (Footnote 8) (Attachment 3, Nr. 16 of the Order Concerning Quarterly and Monthly Planning, loc. cit.) and, if necessary, propose or make changes in the production process or contracts when they prepare the quarterly quota breakdown. In addition, if the contractual obligations are too high or too low, the reasons must be established and reported to the supervisory bodies. (Footnote 9) (Ibid, Attachment 3, Nr 18). Furthermore, the interdependence of supply contracts involving combines, coordinating organs and supervisory bodies must be reviewed. (Footnote 10) (Ibid, Attachment 3, Nrs. 13 and 17). All this requires a quarterly update of contracts in that the contract must be changed, canceled or renegotiated and the annual targets for the respective quarter must be made more specific. Hence, in the future, a fully specified annual contract will only make sense if the annual product lines can be defined in a stable fashion. When deciding on whether a quarterly specification or a quarterly update of the fully specified annual contracts is more useful, the ability of the combine to make the contractual changes as required by the director general's decisions must be considered.

## 2. Order Dates

The presently established date for placing orders differs from the rules of the Order Concerning Order and Delivery Terms and, in many cases, cannot be justified because of the uncertainty that prevails prior to the assignment of state quotas with regard to the tasks to be accomplished. The Robotron and "Fortschritt" [Progress] Combines have changed the order dates or deadlines in such a way that June 30th is the deadline for generally specified orders or it sets an order date that permits orders to be placed even after the state targets have been announced. Unless this continues to be required by target-related legal regulations, there is, e.g., no valid reason why a specified order should be placed during the second quarter of a year, if the product will not be needed until the third quarter of the next planning year. This type of "long-term commitment" restricts the flexibility of plants or leads to unstable performance conditions. It should be abandoned in the future. The concrete order date must be the date when the purchaser is reasonably sure of his requirements and when the supplier needs the supplies for his plans, his orders and his continuous technological operation.

Since it can be assumed that, in the future, planning regulations will no longer require a deadline, significantly extending beyond the quarter, between the time when the specific product line is determined and its delivery (except for imports where order dates must also be shortened as much as possible), the technology-dependent production process and the high utilization of capacity are becoming more important and must be used as the basis for setting order and delivery dates.

### 3. Cooperation in Centralized Production

When individual components and groups of components are manufactured centrally, special situations develop with regard to the division of labor, which, for the most part, are combine-specific and usually not related to supply orders. The reason for centralized production is to make use of the advantages of cooperation, i.e., more capabilities, the use of special capital equipment to capacity and the manufacture of large numbers of high-quality products. In centralized production, the order system and the related contract system must be adapted to the special requirements and opportunities of this process in order to obtain the desired benefits. Hence, requirements stemming from the greater technological dependence of the buyers and producers of these components and groups of components, on the one hand, and from the opportunities for the combine to manage the process in a uniform way, on the other, are becoming more crucial. Experience in some combines has primarily shown that intra-combine planning of the production and use of individual components and component groups, produced by labor division, and the necessary intra-combine planning decision-making must be product-specific, because this is the only basis for making precise plans that ensure that the plant capacity is fully utilized, for resolving production problems, for making effective use of electronic data processing (EDV) and hence matching producers and suppliers for optimal results. For that reason, the Textima and Progress Combines are thinking about how they can improve product-specific planning of their production, based on the division of labor. The "Fritz Heckert" Machine Tool Combine in Karl-Marx-Stadt has been using product-specific planning for quite some time.

In view of the fact that the production process, based on the division of labor, is planned in a product-specific way, the orders must be placed for specific product lines. However, here again, if at all possible, the orders should not be placed before state quota assignments have been made, and in principle, only the fully specified performance contract is useful. However, that does not mean that plans have to be developed for the entire planning year and that the contracts must be made for the planning year. Rather, in designing the planning system, a decision must be made as to whether the plans are for the quarter and whether quarterly contracts must be concluded. As for products that are to be delivered at different stages in the course of a planning year, it is entirely appropriate for the contract to be made out for one delivery. General contracts or the establishment of recurring contract terms in combine regulations can be helpful in drafting an effective contract.

So far, the "Fritz Heckert" Machine Tool Combine has found that quarterly delivery contracts in a production process, based on labor division, are necessary and useful. They will remain necessary to meet the requirements of the quarterly and monthly production breakdown for state plan items, the annual nomenclature of the balances of ministries and certain combines. It must be examined whether this will be adequate in the future or whether quarterly contracts are more useful. If the annual product line of components and groups of components is stable and if, despite the demands of the market

and the requirements of scientific-technical progress, the necessary plan and contract changes are relatively small, the modifications required by the changed conditions can be made by altering the production plan, based on a division of labor, and the contract.

In all of the variants described above, the legal stipulations for quarterly and monthly planning must be observed, since--unlike the provisions of the Order and Delivery Terms Regulation (Footnote 11) (Para. 21 of the Contract Law permits combine rules that deviate from the law. Also see K.-D. Schwenk/E. Suess: "Zur Verordnung ueber Bestell- und Lieferbedingungen" [On the Regulation Concerning Order and Delivery Terms], WIRTSCHAFTSRECHT 2/84, p 35)--they must also be adhered to by the combines. (Footnote 12) (Nr 1 combined with para 4, First Draft of the Order concerning Quarterly and Monthly Planning, loc. cit.).

Ensuring high flexibility in the combines prohibits mechanical solutions that do not take account of specific combine conditions, because the goal is to improve efficiency throughout the entire production process. The decisive factor is to shorten the time between placing a specific order and its delivery. Hence, greater flexibility must be ensured through legally binding cooperation rules (Footnote 13) (Cf. H. Badestein/G. Pflicke, "Zum Zusammenhang von hoher Dynamik wirtschaftlicher Prozesse und wirtschaftsrechtlicher Regelung," [On the Interrelationship between the High Dynamics of Economic Processes and Legal Regulations of the Economy], STAAT UND RECHT 3/84, p 219), although there can--and in some cases, must-- be entirely different rules.

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ECONOMY

HUNGARY

BECK INTERVIEWED ON ECONOMIC MANAGEMENT

AU220016 Budapest PARTELET in Hungarian No 8-9,1986 pp 3-12

[Interview given by Tamas Beck, chairman of the Chamber of Commerce, to Sandor Lakos, staffer of PARTELET: "The Ministries and the Enterprises-- Interview With Tamas Beck, Chairman of the Chamber of Commerce"--date and place not given; first paragraph is newspaper's introduction]

[Text] A fundamentally important factor in the acceleration of our economic development and in the implementation of our plans under current conditions is the need for the relation between the central guiding organs and the enterprises to be harmonious and for their efforts to be directed toward achieving identical goals. How does the body representing the interests of the enterprises regard these relations and the development of conditions that affect these relations--this is the question PARTELET staffer Sandor Lakos asked Tamas Beck, chairman of the Hungarian Chamber of Commerce.

[Lakos] One of the basic formulas of the reform of the economic management system reads as follows: Central bodies should control the major processes more efficiently and the enterprises should be given greater freedom of action. In spite of the considerable results achieved, it seems that neither of the sides of this formula has been attained adequately. One cannot state that the central will is adequately asserted in the most important processes from the viewpoint of the development of the people's economy, nor can one say that the organizations engaged in economic activity have enough scope for maneuvering in carrying out their decisions. This in itself is a contradictory situation. The situation is further complicated by the fact that the balance of the people's economy has deteriorated in the last 1 1/2 years and the enterprises' international competitiveness has not improved adequately, either. Understandably, there are more frequent conflicts in a more difficult economic situation, and one becomes increasingly aware of the fact that the people involved are blaming each other for the problems. How do you regard this problem?

[Beck] All the problems of the Hungarian economy are concentrated in this question, just like the sea in a drop of water. I will try to answer from the viewpoint of the Chamber and of the enterprises grouped together in the Chamber. First, perhaps, a few words about the economic regulators.

I believe everyone has noticed that the enterprise leaders and the Chamber of Commerce representing them have both also ceased to criticize the regulators in the past months. The reason for this is not that we have become fed up with criticizing the regulators, but rather that the enterprises have recognized that the government is dealing with the regulators as a uniform system, is sticking to their elements, and does not see the possibility of making the modifications that are desired by the enterprises or that are proposed by them for their own benefit and the benefit of the Hungarian people's economy.

[Lakos] If I may interject a question here: What elements of the system of regulators do you have in mind?

[Beck] I mean, first of all, the regulation of interest in exporting. The Chamber starts from the premise that there is no generally considered foreign trade, there are only concrete markets, and there is a considerable difference in the demand for goods and the ability to pay of various markets. Therefore, we regard as an illusion any kind of assumption that anything we do not export to one market will automatically find its way to another one. In our view, there is a need for more graded incentives which, at the same time have more intensive effects, and on the other hand, any element that hinders the export interest and that has a negative effect on this interest should be eliminated. In addition to the direct encouragement of exports, we have supported and continue to support the need for loans given to the enterprises to better serve the goals of export development.

[Lakos] You mentioned the fact that the effects of other regulators hindered the encouragement of exports. What do you mean in concrete terms?

[Beck] Such a counterinterest has been created, for example, by the stipulation that the price and profits achieved on the capitalist markets represent the guidelines in calculating the enterprise profits and in pricing. As a result, enterprises stopped exporting to capitalist markets the products that could attain only smaller profits. It is true, however, that changes have been instituted in this situation by means of various measures, but before these measures were implemented, considerable losses had been made to the people's economy. But generally one can say that the system of regulators contains too many "test-tube" and untested elements that in reality, often have an opposite effect to what is desirable.

[Lakos] Is there also a difference of opinion between the enterprise leadership and the government on other issues?

[Beck] The debate around financial deductions concerning the extent of centralization of social net income, to use an economic term, is well known. The Chamber understands the intention leading to the government measures but, in our view, it would be more expedient if the enterprises were left with enough money to create, by working at an optimal pace, the surplus necessary for the budget. In this case, the situation would be different from the present one in which, if there is any surplus anywhere, the financial



administration takes it immediately. At present, out of a profit of 100 forints, the budget deducts 80-90 forints. In the case of less indebted enterprises, with a conservative product structure and stagnating from the point of view of their development rate, the remaining profit covers simple production costs. However, in the case of dynamically developing enterprises which are renewing their product structure and which require considerable credit sources for all these activities the remaining amount of money is not enough to carry out modernization and pay off loans.

[Lakos] Enterprises often also disapprove of the fact that the announcement of new regulators is made with a delay, and the enterprises complain particularly about additional and retroactive corrections. What is the opinion of the chairman of the Chamber of Commerce about this?

[Beck] Our opinion is that anything that the economic management is unable to regulate 1 year in advance, it should refrain from regulating later. An article on one of this year's issues of TERVGAZDASAGI SZEMLE [Planned Economy Review] called this practice incorrect. I believe this is not an unfounded position. Unfortunately, however, not only the practice but also a theory of retroactive regulation has developed. According to the latter, in the course of some process the moment we recognize that its effect differs from what we had expected, we must immediately intervene and again regulate the process in detail. The consequences of this concept can be seen in the mass of regulations in which the legislators themselves can no longer find their way, to say nothing of the people who are supposed to work on the basis of these regulations. I think that people who believe that one should immediately intervene in the economic processes the moment there is some kind of difficulty have hardly ever managed an enterprise in their life. An enterprise is like a large ship: You need time in order to change its course. Besides, in our view the economic management should strive first of all to promote the successful activity of people engaged in economic activity and assure them of a green light in this activity.

[Lakos] "In the meantime," [quotation marks as published] however, measures have also been taken that are correcting the undesirable tendencies in a way that is favorable to the enterprises. Is the government also to be criticized for these measures?

[Beck] I would start my answer from a little further back in time. Representatives of national supreme authorities also took part in the extended meeting of the Chamber leadership held in the Autumn of 1985. A leading official said in the course of the debate that the year 1985 was some sort of "cuckoo's egg"; that the economic problems of the year in question could be regarded as one-time problems and it was possible to make up for the losses in 1986. Several enterprise leaders argued with this concept, stressing that these problems are manifestations of an unfavorable tendency and if this tendency is not halted by means of various measures, it will also continue in 1986. Well, life has proven the latter to be correct and finally, the

necessary and so-called assistance measures had to be taken. But if the opinions expressed at the meeting had been taken into consideration in time, the measures would have not been taken with a delay and as additional corrections, but in the natural course of the regulation.

[Lakos] The assistance measures were indeed taken as extraordinary measures called for by the circumstances. This, however, raises the more general question as to what form the so-called economy-organizing activity of the central bodies should take. To what extent is this activity needed today and in what points does this need improvement?

[Beck] Central economic management bodies and their measures have always been necessary at all times, and they are and will be necessary in the future, too. It is also clear that in the framework of a planned economy the organizing activity of the central guiding bodies is inevitably more comprehensive and more intense than in the so-called market economy model of the capitalist society, although as is well-known the very essential elements of central guidance and planning have strengthened there, too. Under our conditions, the goals of the people's economy must be set centrally and their implementation requires an entire series of economic organization measures, from the signing of interstate agreements and the distribution of centralized sources to economic regulations and the modernization of institutions.

The enterprises regard the economic organization measures taken by the sector ministries as necessary, and there is a uniform opinion that the elimination of the sector ministries or a further reduction of their sphere of authority would not diminish but rather increase the problems facing the people's economy and the enterprises. In everyday practice today, there is hardly any argument between the sector ministries and the enterprises. This is partly due to the fact that these ministries deal mainly with economic policy issues in their own areas, the shaping of the technological aspects of the medium- and long-term plans, and with the preparation of interstate economic agreements, and in this activity they include the enterprises in question on merit. Sector ministries only rarely give direct orders to the units engaged in economic activity, and at the majority of the enterprises under their professional supervision the exercising of employer rights has also shifted into the enterprise sphere. The situation is different in the case of the functional guiding bodies whose role has increased as a result of the consistent modification of the management system. This is only natural since, if we were to shift from direct orders to normative regulations, it follows logically that the role of these bodies would increase. The problem is that today the daily tasks of restoring the balance of the people's economy are absorbing too much of the strength and energy of these bodies, and actions that would be indispensable for laying lasting foundations for the economic balance are being eclipsed. One can notice this particularly in the fact that technological development is falling into the background.

[Lakos] Can we say that the central guiding bodies are still taking too many measures that narrow down, limit, and have an unfavorable influence on an enterprise's independence?

[Beck] As I have already mentioned, the sector ministries hardly interfere in enterprise management. Indeed, some sort of steps are taken only when the enterprises themselves come up with problems. It must be added here that, neither with regard to its organizational structure and number of employees nor its financial sources is the sector ministry today in the possession of means that would allow it to interfere in the enterprises' activity. The banks are able to exercise a greater influence on daily management and also on choosing the development variations than the sector ministry is, that has accumulated considerable professional knowledge. Today the decisions of the supreme financial authorities dealing with the regulation of prices and wages are able to exercise a considerably stronger influence on the enterprise management and, as I have already mentioned, this effect is extremely complex and contradictory. The enterprises can often counterbalance increasing energy, raw material, and wage costs--also taking into consideration the high proportion of deductions--only by means of price increases. The central bodies, however, often object to this step and this put some enterprises in a difficult situation. It is a fact, however, that the further spiralling effect of price increases would affect the standard of living of the population and its confidence in the party's policy, therefore, he who vetoes such a step also has serious arguments in his favor. We must understand that the interests of the enterprise sphere are important but not exclusive factors influencing the government and supreme authority decisions.

[Lakos] So far we have discussed the things that the enterprises disapproved of in the practice of the central bodies. But the guiding bodies also have their own critical observations concerning the activity of the enterprises. Thus, for example, the opinion is often voiced that the enterprises are hiding their real reserves, keep their performance down, not allowing a real insight into their activity, and so on. Is it not possible that there is also some truth in these critical observations?

[Beck] The Chamber of Commerce would represent the enterprises inadequately if it noticed only the favorable tendencies in their work. I am myself an enterprise leader and I am well aware of the fact that we would be fooling ourselves through such a practice. I accept, therefore, that some of these critical observations are well-founded. But I must add immediately that I do not think all these critical observations are justified. Under the current economic situation, for example, I can hardly imagine the deliberate holding back of production. Even if a leader wants to hold back performance, he is simply unable to do so because other persons and other organs--like, for example, the party organization, the trade union, and now also the enterprise council--are also participating in the enterprise management. It is, however, true that enterprises have learned to count. They have been forced to, particularly in the case of exports. If an enterprise's exports of \$30 million annually fall to \$29 million, the collective and the leader are

condemned and suffer losses; if, however, another enterprise increases its exports from \$500,000 to \$700,000, this enterprise is praised. As long as there is such a basic theory, one can take into account that the enterprise will weigh things up and will employ tactics. We have said several times that we should also honor the large-scale exporters' efforts to maintain the level of their exports and we also should even accept a slight decrease in performance. It is unimaginable that an enterprise will be able to increase its exports constantly from year to year over 10-20 years; with rare exceptions, nowhere is such a thing possible.

[Lakos] In your view, therefore, this criticism is not justified. But there are also other observations....

[Beck] Indeed, there are often cases of exaggeration of daily and short-term enterprise interests and their unilateral interpretation, and this leads to a one-sided enterprise attitude and to wrong steps. No one could claim that today all enterprises everywhere make proper use of the possibilities deriving from increased independence. Not every leader is adequately aware of the technical development going on in his own professional area in other countries of the world, and many of these leaders do not even strive hard enough to get to know these technical developments. It also happens that some enterprises do not inform the various guiding bodies objectively of their problems and possibilities, and there are also examples of searching for "backdoors" and of bargaining. Inadequate stock management and exaggerated storing of goods are not unknown phenomena, although it is also clear that anomalies in the supply of materials often force us to behave like this. And the saying that habit is a great lord has not lost its force yet; comfort and routine are also sometimes to be found in the enterprise leadership. It is a fact that there are managers who, also accepting the conflicts, strictly enforce order and discipline in the enterprise, and there are other managers, however, who choose the easier way, who relax the requirements, and this leads to the people's economy and also their own enterprise suffering serious losses.

[Lakos] Do these phenomena not show that there is in some places a need for a new type of attitude and fresh concepts in the high level leadership of the enterprises? To put it more precisely: Would it not be necessary to renew the leadership staff more forcefully?

[Beck] There is indeed such a need. But in order to fulfill this, it is necessary, among other things, to work out ways for an honorable retirement and to make it possible for tired, ill, or no longer suitable leaders to be released from their jobs in time, or to leave their jobs without feeling like a loser and without being regarded as such by public opinion. Besides, a change in leadership can also be justified if a more suitable person is found to replace the otherwise competent former leader. For the time being, there are no ideas as regards this latter solution; we find however, all the more examples of changes in leadership as a result of personal relations and intrigues. All these things prove that there is still much to be gained by an improvement in cadre work.

[Lakos] In your opinion, could the introduction of the new forms of enterprise management not help overcome this situation?

[Beck] True, in the case of two-thirds of the enterprises today, the manager is appointed by the enterprise council. But it is still too difficult to answer the question as to the role that innovative readiness and adaptability will play in the practice of choosing a leader. Today it is still impossible to give an exact answer as to what type of leader can work in better harmony with the various supreme authorities and public bodies, as the work style of these bodies is also developing and changing constantly.

[Lakos] It is, nevertheless, a fact that cooperation does not depend only on subjective factors, because objective interests can also be different from each other. And this can also lead to conflicts in cases where honest and talented people occupy leading positions on both sides, people who take into consideration the cause of the community. Nowadays, this phenomenon can be felt particularly in connection with the structural change, because this requirement affects the interests of various collectives and groups quite differently. In a given case, the interests of the enterprise collective are different from those of the people's economy in this respect. It is, however, vital for us to find a solution to this task, because maintaining an outdated product structure could further increase the technological gap separating Hungary from the developed industrial countries.

[Beck] Structural change is indeed one of the central issues of the current Hungarian people's economy. That is the reason why we stressed at the Chamber meeting that, under the current product structure, a dynamic increase in production would do more damage than maintaining the slow production rate. Let me quote from the report: "The increase in the performance capacity of the economy requires the development of driving sectors and enterprises on which we can lay the foundations of our economic structure strategy. These sectors should develop but we should not develop them artificially. If this is carried out, we can lay the foundations for our subsidies policy and our concepts of technological development on these sectors."

[Lakos] When formulating this concept, what driving sectors do you have in mind, what sectors can we list among these in Hungary today?

[Beck] I cannot give an engineer's precise answer to this question. It seems that not a single sector of the economy can be regarded as a driving sector in its entirety, and we cannot say that a modern structure is characteristic primarily of the chemical industry or the machine industry, the electronics industry or, perhaps, of the agrarian economy. There are people who claim, for example, that the entire telecommunications industry should be regarded as a driving sector. But if we take a look at HETI vilaggazdasag's so-called list of 100 ranking enterprises and we note the sales of this sector in convertible currency and its efficiency in dollar income, then we might doubt the right of this sector to be called driving. In judging this question, we cannot disregard the fact that precision in servicing our debts is nowadays an elementary task. In listing the sectors of the economy, we should not take

the sectors as a whole, but individual subsectors, product groups, and economic units. That is precisely the reason why, in my opinion, we should regard the prospering and internationally competitive enterprises that keep pace with the technological development in the world as the basis of the structural change, enterprises, for example, in the pharmaceutical industry, the rubber industry, in certain branches of the machine industry, in the aluminium processing industry, in the heavy chemical industry, and so on. These enterprises should be given the strongest support. I say "should" because today it is precisely the other way around, we are withdrawing means precisely from these enterprises in order to support those which operate at a loss.

[Lakos] This is already taking us to the next question, namely, while everyone agrees that a structural reorganization is necessary, this process is nevertheless progressing very slowly. How can we explain this situation?

[Beck] We have already mentioned the fact that this process does not affect the various interests uniformly. As long as a dollar income of the current size is necessary for the correct and timely repayment of the country's debts and for the steady reimbursement of imports, we can hardly curb the production of low efficiency enterprises which, however, produce considerable dollar incomes. We cannot even institute a temporary halt in their production during which we could raise the status of these economic units from the group of enterprises of low efficiency to at least the group of enterprises of medium efficiency by means of modernization and making the product structure more favorable. Among the sectors and enterprises in need of budget support, for example, the meat industry brings an annual \$300-\$500 million to the country, the aluminium industry brings \$100 million, and the Nitrogen Works of Peti bring close to \$70 million. The export efficiency of the products is, of course, changing from period to period and from market to market, and making use of this fact could free the budget from providing considerable support. Similar reserves can be found in the meat industry and metallurgy if we increase the proportion of products having a higher technological level. We can, however, hardly count on a fundamental change: aware of the EEC agrarian economic, price, and customs policy and of the solvency of the developing countries, we cannot count on a considerable increase in the export prices of food industry products or on an increase in demand for metallurgical products exported by us, an increase that would also result in favorable price developments. As long as the economic units of average efficiency or of higher than average efficiency are unable to provide the more than \$1 billion worth of exports of the low efficiency enterprises, we have to maintain the exports of the latter or even increase them, a requirement which, naturally, limits the sources necessary for the proposed structural change. It is not the intention for a faster structural change that we lack in Hungary--although it does no harm to strengthen this intention too--what we lack is the time and capital necessary to get the structural change going, and at present we have rather little of both.

[Lakos] We can hardly carry out development without reduction. Can we imagine a structural change in the Hungarian people's economy in the course of which we would curb or even eliminate certain sectors of the economy?

[Beck] There is no other way we can imagine this process. There can be no structural change without curbing the activity of certain areas; some of the money and staff necessary for the dynamically developing sectors and enterprises can be released precisely from these areas. Curbing the activity of certain areas, however, raises a tremendous amount of problems, too. We must not disregard the fact that this process also needs a lot of money. It is enough to mention the closing of the Rudabanya and the Gyongyoros mines, an action which required several hundreds of millions of forints. Although a considerable amount of professional knowledge has accumulated at the economic organizations facing reduction--be it factory units, company headquarters, or workshops--this knowledge can be used in other areas and for other types of work mostly only with difficulty. We must also take into consideration the need to find sources to substitute for the supply of products that are no longer produced as a result of the above-mentioned reduction. We lack the hard currency to purchase these products from the capitalist market; purchases from socialist countries, however, is rarely smooth because something that is not profitable for us is generally not profitable for them either. We are also facing considerable difficulties on the Third World markets too. Additionally, it is not easy to conclude when imports are more profitable than domestic production. In my view, the theory and practice of reduction is not elaborated yet. Researchers and scientists have still to come up with a model for this action, but we greatly need this model not after many years, but as soon as possible because this process has still not been considered thoroughly enough and there are too many improvisations and spontaneous measures. Development is regulated by a mass of regulations, even the analysis of the market conditions is stipulated. We have, however, no thoroughly considered regulations for reductions, although this cannot be carried out without such regulations.

[Lakos] One of the "tough" means of structural change is the rehabilitation or liquidation of loss-making enterprises and enterprises with a capital deficit, although the creation of the law concerning this process was not, or not mainly, motivated by the need for structural development. It is, nevertheless, worth speaking about the way the economic organizations received this regulation.

[Beck] No one argues that a law-decree on rehabilitation as a means of pressure and enforcing discipline was necessary in order to "cut short" the demand for support deriving from management inefficiency. It is another question as to how this issue was treated in the press. It also happened that the news on the upcoming rehabilitation or liquidation of an enterprise was treated almost like a "victory report." The goal, however, is not the liquidation of enterprises but the need to avoid it, that is, the need for the loss-making enterprise's management to change and become profitable. Bankruptcy and loss of capital must be avoided; there is nothing to be happy about when an enterprise

gets into trouble or becomes insolvent. Besides, it must be clear to us that the sectors and large enterprises which have now accumulated the greatest losses cannot be liquidated or eliminated. Can anyone think seriously of eliminating the Hungarian coal mining industry, metallurgy, and above-ground construction industry or of halting the activity of enterprises with good traditions like the GANZ-MAVAG or the LANG machine factory? Obviously, in their case, starting bankruptcy proceedings is not the ideal solution.

[Lakos] This is no doubt true, but the question can arise whether it would not be necessary to carry out at least a fundamental change in profile in the case of lastingly deficit-making large-scale enterprises. Is there an argument of sufficient weight in favor of maintaining a situation in which certain areas are producing lasting losses and are exporting losses? This is a serious burden on the people's economy and it hinders the attaining of competitiveness....

[Beck] Of course, we cannot accept a lasting continuation of such a situation. The government programs established with the aim of settling the fate of economic sectors in trouble show the intention for changes, too. But we must be aware of the fact that tough facts are influencing the decisions. Recently, one could read the declarations of the head of the World Bank, published in HETI VILAGGAZDASAG, that the servicing of our debts is at present almost half the size of the value of our exports to capitalist countries. As long as there is no improvement in this situation, as I have already mentioned, the country also needs the expensively produced dollars. It is quite true that we can do much more than hitherto to reduce or eliminate loss-making production by a more forceful assertion of market effects. We must, however, beware of onesidedness in this respect too. I mean here, for example, the illusions of placing free competition above everything else. The free competition which the body representing the interests of the domestic capitalist enterprises, the GYOSZ, firmly condemned more than half a century ago and successfully avoided—I mention this just as an interesting point—is the same free competition some people want now to impose on the Hungarian economy instead of trying to work out an efficient and harmonious cooperation and collaboration. I am not against competition, but I do not see it a successful choice to put this competition on the pedestal as the only saving and salutary means.

[Lakos] We have reached then the next question: What is, in your opinion, the responsibility of the central bodies and that of the enterprises in the structural reorganization of the economy?

[Beck] In our age, a deliberate reorganization of the economic structure is carried out with the help of central support. This is the way it is done in the so-called market-management countries too; it is enough if I mention only space research or the modernization of the mining and metallurgical industries listed among the industrial sectors in crisis. The same happens in Hungary, too: structural reorganization programs such as the development of the aluminium and petrochemical industries and of pharmaceutical and pesticides production and of computer science, could not have been carried out without



central economic organization activity. These programs, even if to a small extent, were directly or indirectly also essentially structural reorganization programs, too. However, the enterprises bear the greatest responsibility and the greatest burden in the steady reorganization and development of the economic structure. However, in order for technology and product structure to change in the desirable direction, the economic organization must have adequate means, although, in addition to this, it would be desirable to work out a structural modernization basis at the ministerial level, too. If the enterprises have these means at their disposal, then, led by their interests, they will solve the tasks connected with the structural change, particularly if political support is also assured. This support is inevitable because one has to see that a structural change, particularly if it is a considerable one, is charged with social conflicts.

[Lakos] One can outline a vicious circle from the above-mentioned things. Structural reorganization, or if you like, speedchange, is hindered not only by the usual opposition, but also primarily by the fact that neither the government nor the economic organizations possess free financial means by which they can carry out a considerable expansion. If, however, we do not modernize our economy, our international competitiveness will deteriorate, our income producing capacity will decrease, and the extra resources we have available will become limited. Is there a way out of this vicious circle?

[Beck] Experts have never imagined a structural change without money. Installations must be changed, people must be retrained, a lot of things must be changed. Therefore, money is needed, and there is not enough. Yet, how should we concentrate the financial means available for development in a way that would lead to quick results? First of all, we must reorganize the system of withdrawals and support in a way to make sure that primarily dynamically developing and profitable enterprises receive additional financial resources. Another way can also be a more intensive utilization of population savings and enterprise finances than hitherto. This is not a new concept and we have already taken initial steps in this area.

Joining the Soviet economic development program, the establishment of joint enterprises, and widening the cooperation with the other socialist countries can also represent a considerable driving force. This would allow the development of optimal "technological steps" and the limitation of company profiles, actions by which we could release knowledge and money for the development of other areas. Another not negligible source can be the credit taken from the World Bank, all the more so because, together with the loans, we can also receive new technology. It is also necessary to include foreign, mainly working, capital. As of 1 January 1986, investment possibilities in Hungary have become more favorable, but further steps are necessary. In investing in a socialist country, a capitalist expects at least an average profit on his money, or better than that, and we do not offer better investment possibilities than offered by the average international investment possibilities. And we also face the problem that a capitalist does not necessarily wish to invest in areas which would be the most important for

the Hungarian people's economy, but in areas where he has already acquired good experience in cooperation and where he trusts his partners. Finally, a more rational utilization of our development resources and a better utilization of the available fixed assets can also be considered as considerable resources. In short, our possibilities are limited but not so much to that they make our actions impossible.

[Lakos] We have discussed many issues. Finally, it would also be worth talking about the extent to which the Chamber of Commerce is able to represent the concepts outlined so far and about its activity of representing interests in practice.

[Beck] The Chamber of Commerce is also studying its tasks. The efficiency of our activity of representation requires from us that we express our opinions and discuss the various proposals at a time when these are still in the workshop of the guiding bodies and that we come up with thoroughly considered proposals ourselves and present them to the decision-making bodies, all this independently and with the inclusion of member enterprises, too. I would like to stress that the economic management bodies are very correctly including the chamber in the decision-making process and compare notes and demand its opinion. Our greatest weakness lies in the fact that, when we disagree with the concepts of the economic management bodies, we are frequently unable to come up with a better alternative than the concepts of the ministry, from the viewpoint of the enterprise sphere. We must, and will, change this state of affairs!

[Lakos] What is the harmonization of interests among the member enterprises like?

[Beck] Good methods for this have not yet been developed, either. This is a pioneering work in which we can rely neither on theory nor on international experience. The old methods are no longer usable and new ones have not been developed yet. We have had results, but we have also had unsuccessful agreements. We were unable, for example, to work out an agreement between metallurgy and the machine industry, between forestry and the furniture industry, and between household textile factories and the furniture industry, an agreement acceptable for all of them mainly because, under the current economic situation, none of the enterprises can afford to lose even in the short term and temporarily.

[Lakos] If we are already talking about the representation of interests, in fact what interests does the Chamber of Commerce represent, the interests of the enterprise collectives or those of the enterprise directors?

[Beck] One of the main tasks of the chamber is to help the enterprises work as efficiently as possible and as successfully as possible for the benefit of the Hungarian people's economy. In its role of representing interests, the chamber is safeguarding the interests of the enterprises as economic organizations. In our domestic political system, it is primarily the task of the trade unions to represent the interests of the collectives. Negotiations are under way

with the National Trade Union Council leaders on a rational distribution and harmonization of work; and adequate mechanism for this will be developed. It is also in the sphere of authority of the Chamber of Commerce to represent the interests of the enterprise directors--as group interests, because no other body carries out such a task--but the adequate methods for this activity have not yet been developed, either. In connection with this subject, the question often arises whether the chamber does not also represent the interests of bad enterprises. The only answer this question can be that the chamber is striving to represent the interests of every enterprise, but not individually, rather, in an integrated way, as groups of enterprises.

[Lakos] One of the main subjects of our discussion is the relations between the ministries and the enterprises. Can we say that the chamber not only represents interests, but is also some sort of connecting link between the supreme authorities and the enterprises and is striving to achieve harmony between various levels? And, in fact, on which side is the chamber standing in the course of harmonization of interests between the ministries and the enterprises?

[Beck] We are striving, with our utmost knowledge, power, and efforts, to help the activity of the economic management and of the ministries, but, naturally, we are taking part in the debates from the viewpoint of the enterprises. The Chamber of Commerce is a public body whose operation is made possible by the membership fees paid by the enterprises. It is, anyway, the voice of the enterprise sphere, as it is the only body representing the interests of this area. The chamber can contribute best to the development of the Hungarian people's economy and to the prosperity of the country by serving this sphere and by adequately fulfilling this obligation.

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ECONOMY

HUNGARY

#### HOUSING CONSTRUCTION SEEN AS BEHIND SCHEDULE

Budapest ESTI HIRLAP in Hungarian 9 Jul 86 p 8

["Semi-Annual Scale; Great Lag in Apartment Construction."]

[Text] As part of the Capital City's public housing projects 1472 apartment have been completed during the first half of the year. This amounts to only 17.5 percent of the number of apartments planned to be delivered during the period. According to experts, there has been no parallel to these weak achievements for years, and it is questionable whether the commitments can be fulfilled at all.

State construction companies committed themselves to build about 8000 public housing project apartments. Combined with the unfulfilled balance from the previous year, they have contracted for 8418 apartments altogether.

The plans of the City of Budapest call for the construction of 11 thousand unitary duplex or single family houses. Under the auspices of the Capital City Council, apartments financed by the Council or by the National Savings Bank [OTP] are being built in 35 areas of Budapest. The schedule of these constructions, however, leaves much to be desired. According to contract terms, builders should have delivered 2833 apartments during the first half of the year, but only half of that number has been realized.

This is incomprehensible, especially since the technical preparedness of the apartments scheduled for delivery this year, has already achieved a level of 45 percent last year.

There has been no previous example for last year's high level of performance. It is for this reason that one could reasonably count on better performance during the first half of this year, thus avoiding a year-end rush, post-haste work in December, and the resultant lags and inaccuracies. In order to put an end to the shortcoming that have been experienced, the Council's investment division seeks immediate action from the Ministry of Construction and Urban Development [EVM] as well as from the contractors to continually assure performance under contracts and the progress of construction projects.

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HUNGARY

ECONOMY

ENTERPRISES URGED TO IMPLEMENT ELECTRONIC EQUIPMENT TRAINING

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 16 Jul 86 p 5

[Article by Laszlo Magyar: "Operational change: enterprises could substantially benefit from re-training assistance."]

[Text] Most enterprises are unaware of the fact that they may seek re-training assistance from their respective councils if they are in the process of changing their operational processes, or--what amounts to the same--if they participate in the program of introducing electronics into the people's economy.

The above sentence reflects the views of authoritative persons at the State Wage and Labor Office [ABMH] and at the Capital City Council. They support their view with convincing data. As late as last year, only 64 enterprising organizations sought and received financial aid for these purposes, and then only to the tune of 50-million forints.

The ABMH and the City Council expected a larger expression of interest. Although the available data do not show just how many enterprises converted fully or partially to the new production profile, they are certain that their number is far larger than 64. And they know that so far the more alert, the more cost-conscious enterprises have turned to the Council for assistance. These include, for example, Medicor, Tunsgram, Telefon and the Weapons and Gas Appliances Manufacturing Company [FEG], as well as Caola and the Zrinyi Press.

Who Earns How Much?

Our first trip took us to the Zrinyi Press where one of their plants has been converted to photo typesetting. Laser technology has replaced the traditional led typesetting process. For this purpose they borrowed some modern machinery from England.

The management of the press placed Janos Rusznak in charge of implementing the transaction. Rusznak is a department head well known for his organizing abilities. Standing 2 meters tall, he began by explaining the reason for having sought state financial support. "We did not want to slip on a banana peel," he said.

Just what Rusznak understood under "banana peel" became clear once he explained what was involved in a change of this nature. So that there would be room for the new plant, a few rooms were emptied and the people working there were transferred to other units of the press. They conducted negotiations with the bank and travelled to England to negotiate a lease agreement with their British partners in order to acquire the needed machinery. They moved around and transferred partitions within the plant, and acquired new furniture because the old furniture proved to be useless around the new machinery. They interviewed about 50 printers before selecting 32, persuading each to go back to school, as if they had been apprentices.

The department head [Rusznak] accepted all responsibilities: to settle all the arguments and to attend the bargaining sessions, as well as the overtime involved, often extending beyond 8 PM. Only one thought became unbearable to him: while the fate of tens of millions of forints was at stake, all his efforts may be in vain because of the lack of a needed 474-thousand forint wage supplement.

So far that's how much they have requested and have received in state aid.

He explains: "the situation that presented itself would have required the impossible, namely to demand 100 percent fulfillment [of the norm] from workers assigned to new machines!"

Once we entered the typesetting room, we witnessed what kind of burden the change meant to the workers.

Since both the screen and the key-board is connected to a computer, the machine speaks a different "language" than we do. One must use a complicated alphabetical and numerical sequences in order to enable the electronic brain to understand the human instructions. Each worker must learn more than 100 sign sequences. By now they know most of the sign sequences by heart, moreover, their fingers are able to create an apple, a Christmas tree, a ball or ornate initials on the screen. Mrs. George Dudas, one of the most clever photo typesetters is able to create a cross-word puzzle on the machine within minutes. This is not a self-serving game; one must realize that for centuries, sophisticated printing technology has utilized graphic presentations.

#### Work Not Accustomed To

The next place we went to see is FEG's Plant No 3 in Angyalfold. Last summer that plant began manufacturing near-peak performance convector-type gas furnaces. Although FEG's decision may not be viewed as an operational change (they have manufactured various types of gas furnaces before), the City Council's division that deals with operational planning and labor affairs nevertheless granted re-training support. Moreover, the support granted is for one year, the longest possible period of time.

Just why such support has been granted may best be understood from FEG developmental chief engineer Ferenc Jando's explanation. Gas furnaces equipped with Bosch-Junkers type automatic regulators are not affected by quickly changing weather fronts. In the evening, when the family returns

home, the furnace must be turned on. But once the apartment has warmed up, gas will burn with a lower flame, and before it becomes exceedingly hot, the automatic regulator temporarily turns off the furnace.

While 15-20 degrees below Zero [Centigrade] weather is considered a rarity in our country, over-heating is a typical phenomenon. Accordingly, between fall and spring, convector furnaces equipped with automatic regulators will save almost 500 forints in heating costs for the average household. One can easily imagine what savings this means at the national level. In Hungary there are already one million convector type gas furnaces supplying heat to one out of every four households.

That's all right, the consumer would say. The 24 workers at the Angyalfold convector plant thought the same, until they learned of the kind of work the Bosch-Junkers automatic regulator demands.

"A year ago the shift was buzzing with pleasant chit-chat," foreman Mrs. Tibor Rudolf points at the ladies sitting behind the production line. "This situation suddenly came to an end last July. The kind of work needed puts to test every nerve; the high degree of accuracy requires unprecedented attention."

#### Necessary Foresight

"I am 50 years old, but never in my life have I experienced such a difficult six months period as the second half of last year," says Sandor Veg, the previous foreman of the plant. As the automatic equipment appeared, our fulfillment fell from the earlier 120 or 125 percent to 60 to 70 percent. Not even by the end of the year were we able to achieve 80 percent. Whenever we discovered a fault, there frequently was another new, hidden, insidious fault source. Accordingly, an enduring feeling of restless frustration beset the men. The constantly renewed struggle appeared as exhausting and I became indifferent. I felt that if I continued, all this will threaten my health. So I talked to management and was happy when I was transferred to the paint shop in a similar capacity. It's much better this way--I am more useful to the company and I was able to relax."

"By now our fulfillment is near the 100 percent level," Mrs. Istvan Demetrovics told us at the production line. "We struggled to get there, but we won. The fact that our pay would not be reduced strengthened and motivated us. And they did not have to 'take away' money from other workers either, because of the support granted to us by the state."

Chief accountant Mrs. Istvan Hevesi confirms this: the one year grant from the Capital City Council amounts to 360 thousand forints. Compared to the more than 18 million forints of wages paid to the factory's physical workers last year, the amount of support is insignificant. But it becomes significant if one considers that in 1985 less than 415 thousand forints of bonus had been distributed among the factory's workers. Without the support payment, the earnings of the affected 24 people would have dropped by 30-40 percent, unless wages in other units of the factory would have been decreased also.

Only a few are aware of the fact that it was the mere trifle of state support that made FEG Europe's largest, and within the COMECON countries, the most modern convector furnace manufacturing plant. Not counting geyser circulation and other types of heating equipment, in 1985 FEG sent 135 thousand gas furnaces to the stores, ending many years of shortage in gas appliances. The fact that FEG's management was among the first to knock on the door of the Capital City Council, attests to their foresight and cost-consciousness.

According to ABMH's Adrianna Soos, unlike in the case of enterprises attentive to details, other factories that attempt operational change without thorough, preliminary calculations, and without knowledge of the opportunity for state support, may be in for an unpleasant surprise. She is disturbed by this fact-she travels a lot and spends half of her time informing various enterprises about the possibilities.

"We really don't want to waste public funds," she says. "We keep in mind that even with state support, the much talked-about operational changes test all affected parties-both workers and factories. Wouldn't it be unwise to top these concerns with adverse wage tensions?"

The interested enterprises must provide the appropriate answer to this question.

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CSO: 2500/387



POLITICS

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

HONECKER SPEAKS AT NATIONAL DAY AWARD CEREMONY

LD061622 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1304 GMT 6 Oct 86

[Text] Berlin, 6 Oct (ADN)--The following is the text of the address by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, at the awards ceremony in Berlin on Monday morning [6 October]:

It is a pleasure for me to welcome you to this festive occasion on the eve of our National Day and pay tribute to your outstanding achievements for the welfare of the people. Among you are veterans of the workers' movement and the antifascist struggle, workers and cooperative farmers, technicians, construction workers and engineers, researchers and scientists, writers and artists, companions and comrades from all spheres of activity. You have all rendered outstanding services to the flourishing of our socialist GDR and the cause of peace.

Our country pays great tribute to those who help continually improve the life of mankind through their work, creativity, and initiative. The fact that each success benefits the whole society as well as every individual is a powerful motive for responsible action. We find convincing expression of this in the great personal commitment to the highest performance toward strengthening socialism and the conscientious fulfillment of everyday duty seen in millions of workplaces.

You, esteemed guests, have provided an example through your work. I give you thanks from the SED Central Committee, the State Council, and the Council of Ministers for your important achievements in the interest of our socialist fatherland. Our warm congratulations to you and to all citizens on our National Day, the 37th anniversary of the GDR.

The 11th Congress of our party--with its decisions looking forward to the year 2000--has pointed the way toward further shaping the advanced socialist society. We are thus tackling great tasks for the future, in the implementation of which we shall link even more closely the advantages of socialism and the results of the scientific-technical revolution. This will make it possible to successfully continue the tried and tested policy of unifying economic and social policy. In accordance with this, preserving peace for present and future generations is our major concern.

We have at our disposal sound starting points; when we think of the goals of the next few years. Our economy is developing dynamically. This is again confirmed by the results of the plan fulfillment of the past 9 months of this year--results published in our media. They show that the national income rose by the considerable amount of 4.3 percent, compared with the same period last year. In the sphere of the industrial ministries, net production increased 8.6 percent, on the basis of the 8.8 percent increase in labor productivity. Costs dropped 1.8 percent. These advances are increasingly made possible by the most up-to-date science and technology findings. Thus, the number of computer-aided design/computer-aided manufacturing work stations increased by 17,210, which is more than double that at the beginning of the year. In the future we will step up the introduction of key technologies--above all microelectronics; and the application of the most up-to-date technology and struggle for top international standards will increasingly determine the rate of economic growth.

We are thus creating the preconditions for important sociopolitical advances of the type expressed particularly in the solution of the housing problem by 1990. During the present 5-year plan, 1,064,000 homes are being built or modernized, which is the largest number so far in such a period. At the same time, we are spending considerable resources on further support for families and young couples and on the improvement of working and living conditions. Social security, which characterizes life under socialism, will be all the more evident as a result.

As you know, I was in Moscow for a few days recently. The meeting between Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev, comrades Herbert Mies, Horst Schmitt, and myself on 3 October in Moscow, the unveiling of the memorial to Ernst Thaelmann in Thaelmann Square in the Soviet capital was a unique event the significance of which extends far beyond the frontiers of our countries. The whole world and the communist world movement saw the CPSU and the USSR, the SED, the DKP and the SEW honoring our unforgotten Ernst Thaelmann, who, as Mikhail Gorbachev stressed, holds a worthy place among the great sons of the German people and the outstanding leaders of the international communist movement.

Ernst Thaelmann, it was said in Moscow, embodied the best traits of a proletarian revolutionary fighter and was an ardent and steadfast internationalist. The cause of the German working class and the interests of the international proletariat, the everyday cares of the working people and the goals of socialism were for him a unified, indivisible entity. His lessons remain, as the world has been able to see, valid today.

Today, Mikhail Gorbachev said in his speech at the unveiling of the memorial, which met with a great response, we are living and struggling in a world which no longer resembles that in which Ernst Thaelmann lived and fought. The political profile of the world, the relations and distribution of social and national forces have totally changed. In this world the working class assumes a special position in the struggle against the danger of war. It remains the leading light in human progress. It is the class whose labor, intellect and skills in all spheres of human life are indispensable.

Today it is our duty to ensure that the world conscience determines international development to an increasing extent. Just as Ernst Thaelmann once said that Hitler meant war, so it is up to us today to warn world public opinion that the arms race makes the dividing line between war and peace increasingly fragile.

In our meeting in Moscow we underlined the fraternal alliance between the GDR and the USSR in the struggle for peace and socialism. We stated that averting the danger of nuclear war and the preservation of world peace and a change to disarmament and detente are of vital importance for mankind. The proposals of the Soviet Union and the comprehensive program of the Warsaw Pact states in Budapest offer a great opportunity to this end which must not remain unused. The results of the Stockholm CDE conference show that reason, realism and good will on all sides make constructive progress possible.

It is to be hoped that the forthcoming meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan in the capital of Iceland will pave the way toward bringing the world out of the danger zone of an atomic inferno in the nuclear-space age. Through initial practical disarmament steps on earth and nonexpansion of the arms race to space a situation would arise which would be advantageous not merely for the Soviet Union and the United States, but also for the GDR and the FRG and indeed all peoples.

Our republic fulfills its responsibility to peace and its duty to peace in line with the principle to which it has been committed since its founding 37 years ago, that of doing everything to ensure that war will never again emanate from German soil. This is served by our full support for the main content of the announced meeting between Gorbachev and Reagan, of opening up a broad path toward disarmament and detente as proposed by the Warsaw Pact states. We continue to regard the policy of dialogue and cooperation as a valuable means of advancing disarmament, reducing tensions and achieving the worthwhile situation where states of different social orders live with one another peacefully. Every good deed to strengthen the GDR will thus continue to be crucial.

At the suggestion of the SED Central Committee politburo and the Presidium of the GDR Council of Ministers, I confer on you the Karl Marx Order, the Great Star of International Friendship Order, the honorary title Outstanding Scientist of the people, the honorary title Hero of Labor and the GDR National Prize.

I warmly congratulate you on this, wish you health, vitality, all the best in your personal life and fresh successes.

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POLITICS

HUNGARY

VARKONYI SPEECH TO UN SESSION

AU031301 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 1 Oct 86 pp 1-2

[MTI report on speech given by Foreign Minister Peter Varkonyi at the 31st session of the UN General Assembly on 30 September: "Foreign Minister Peter Varkonyi's Speech at the UN--We Are Taking An Active Part in Strengthening World Peace and International Security"]

[Text] Hungarian Foreign Minister Peter Varkonyi addressed the 41st session of the UN General Assembly on 30 September. He briefed the assembly on Hungary's position concerning the major international issues.

In his address, the Hungarian foreign minister first of all greeted the chairman of the 41st session and expressed his good wishes. He assured the chairman of the constant support and active cooperation of the Hungarian delegation in his responsible work.

Peter Varkonyi then reminded the General Assembly that, on the occasion of last year's 40th anniversary of the establishment of the United Nations Organization, the delegations carried out a comprehensive review of the organizations' several decades of activity and the role it played in the system of international politics.

"The fact that, on that occasion, the delegates of the member-states, including the Hungarian People's Republic, unanimously confirmed their commitment to the principles and goals included in the UN Charter is, in my opinion, of great importance from the point of view of both the current and the future General Assembly sessions. At that time, we all expressed our interest in and readiness for cooperation in the activity of this unique forum of world politics, a forum for which there is no substitute, and in this spirit we urged the improvement of the organization's efficiency and an increase in its prestige.

"The Government of the Hungarian People's Republic is convinced that there are great tasks facing the organization today; greater and more multilateral tasks than the founders could have envisaged when the United Nations was established. Safeguarding future generations from the horrors of war today means avoiding a nuclear war, saving the whole of mankind, and preserving its existence and the continuation of human civilization. It is our conviction that a nuclear

war can be avoided and the United Nations can play a considerable role in this. But this world organization can continue to fulfill its mission only if the member-states follow the road determined by the principles and goals set at the time of the organization's foundation. Less than at any time in the last 40 years can this road--in the current tension-filled international situation--be the road of the dangerous policy of confrontation, continuation of the arms race, the spread of unequal and unfavorably discriminating economic relations, and generally the creation of conditions unworthy of human beings living in the 20th century. We must follow the path of equal and fruitful cooperation in order to be able to assert the principles formulated in the Charter.

"And it was precisely the desire to assert these principles, the need to create the modern conditions necessary to achieve the noble goals formulated in these principles, and the mutual interdependence among the states of the world that led my government when, together with the governments of nine other member-countries, we sent a letter to the General Secretary of the United Nations and proposed the creation of a comprehensive system of international peace and security, to be included on the agenda.

"When we suggest working out a document aimed at creating a security system covering all areas of international relations and one comprising the basic principles of such a system, then, instead of the still frequently existing confrontation and distrust among states, we are initiating the joint elaboration foundations for comprehensive international cooperation. We are convinced that, in our age, there is no country whose security can be guaranteed to the detriment of others. Accordingly, we believe that we must also understand international security in its complexity and in connection with political, military, economic, and human factors. This often demands that we reevaluate our previous positions and jointly search for solutions acceptable to all by developing views appropriate to the age.

"We believe that the United Nations Organization provides an excellent framework for all this, with its activity that covers almost all areas of cooperation, activity that opens the possibility of harmonizing the interests of all affected states.

"At present the trends of detente and confrontation are simultaneously affecting world politics. Serious tensions are burdening the contradictory international situation, while mankind has reached a crossroads. We hope--and the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic is working to this end--to bring the trend toward detente and international cooperation again to the forefront in the not-to-distant future. The increasingly widespread recognition that contradictions and problems cannot be solved by a policy based on forces encourages us in our endeavor. Our conviction that the current 41st session of the UN General Assembly can contribute considerably to strengthening the positive trends in world politics also derives from this recognition."

## The World Situation Demands Increased Efforts

"The Government of the Hungarian People's Republic holds the view that the current world situation requires increased efforts from all member-states because it is the responsibility of all countries to do their utmost to halt and revert the unfavorable tendencies threatening the fate of all mankind.

"The activity of great powers which carry outstanding responsibility for the fate of the world is of particular importance in this respect. Therefore, international public opinion welcomed the Geneva summit between the leaders of the Soviet Union and the United States held a year ago, a summit that, in a certain respect, was the starting point of some favorable phenomena experienced since then in Soviet-U.S. relations and in world politics generally. We continue to follow developments in the relations between the two countries with great attention and expectations, and we hope that the negotiations will eventually lead to a summit in the not-too-distance future, a summit that can favorably influence the future of mankind. We believe that the tension and distrust existing between the two great powers must be eliminated in our age by means of genuine and constructive agreements aimed at reducing the accumulated stock of weapons and at achieving and mutually favorable and widespread cooperation."

## We Must Make Use of the Possibilities of Compromise

"It is the sincere conviction of the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic that the initiatives made by the Warsaw Pact member states aimed at eliminating the weapons of mass destruction by the turn of the century and at reducing the conventional arms and armed forces in Europe provide a good basis for the realization of a military balance, at the lowest possible level between the two alliance systems that face each other. Every existing disarmament forum must be used in order to start the process of arms reduction, and not a single possibility for mutually acceptable compromise must be missed.

"We also regard the unilateral moratorium on nuclear tests declared by the Soviet Union more than a year ago, and repeatedly renewed ever since, as an event of particular importance from this point of view. It is an encouraging sign that a wide circle of international public opinion takes a stand in favor of a total ban on nuclear arms tests on one hand, and against the accumulation of various types of nuclear arms and the spreading of the arms race into the space, on the other hand. In our view, this is convincing proof that the need for secure coexistence and cooperation between different interests and social orders has become the commanding necessity of our age. We believe that every member-state must feel the urgent need to halt armament and must act accordingly, for the benefit of both the whole of mankind and of its own nation. Starting from this, we sincerely hope that all states will react in a constructive spirit to the challenges of the nuclear age and to our proposals aimed at genuinely solving these problems.

We are aware that the world political atmosphere and the general state of international relations considerably influence the development of the situation of certain areas and groups of countries while, of course, the development and problems of these areas also affect the international situation. Just like any other state, Hungary too cannot be indifferent to the situation in far-away continents and countries, because Hungary is also affected by them--indirectly in the international situation, and directly in its bilateral relations. We regard the acute crisis situations that have emerged in certain areas with particular concern. The historical experiences of the past 4 decades have taught us that any local or regional conflict severely threatens not only the area in question but also the peace and security of the world. Subsequently, it is the fundamental interest of all UN member-states to demand a peaceful settlement of such conflicts by means of negotiations."

#### We Support Every Initiative Aimed at Eliminating Crisis Situations

Nowadays, it is more obvious than ever that there is no other possibility for a just and lasting settling of crisis situations other than constructive negotiations held with the participation of all sides concerned.

The Hungarian People's Republic is ready to support every initiative aimed at eliminating crisis situations. It is our conviction that a sincere and joint search for a solution, and cooperation in this direction rather than confrontation should also characterize the UN debates on regional crisis situations. Our opinion is that the stock of political means available for settling regional conflicts is far from being exhausted. It is in our common interest to search for new forms and solutions in harmony with generally accepted principles of international relations.

"This applies to all regional problems, including the Middle East crisis where a UN sponsored international conference with the participation of all sides concerned could bring a just solution. Preparations for such a conference should commence as soon as possible. This also refers to the Iraq-Iran conflict, the real solution of which is possible only through an immediate end, by peaceful means, to the senseless war that has been going on for 7 years now.

"This also applies to the situation that has emerged around Afghanistan where, in our view, there has lately been an increase in the chances to put an end to hostilities. The initiatives and efforts made by the countries in Southeast Asia provide hope that, by jointly solving the problems, the area could become a zone of peace, cooperation, and stability. Accepting the proposals made by the PDRK would also promote the creation of peace and security on the Korean peninsula and the peaceful unification of Korea on democratic foundations. The Hungarian Government extensively supports these proposals in the same way as the declaration of a nuclear arms-free zone in the area.

"We view with increasing concern the newest and perhaps the most severe crisis situation in recent years: The Central American and the Caribbean area, where tensions have continued to increase and acts threatening the sovereignty of the countries in the area have further escalated. We support sincere efforts that seek a political solution, the efforts of the Contadora Group. Encouraging force and armed intervention--even if indirectly--does not solve the problems; on the contrary it exacerbates tensions.

"Africa's political and economic problems also go far beyond the continent's borders and can be solved only with widespread international collaboration. Efforts in this direction are also being made by the United Nations Organization and the various professional and regional organizations too. In spite of all this, the situation in east Africa is becoming increasingly dangerous.

"World public opinion unanimously and indignantly condemns the inhuman and racist regime in South Africa and its spreading to Namibia which has been illegally occupied for 20 years, as well as Pretoria's aggressive acts aimed at destabilizing the region and directed against neighborly sovereign states. My government is taking a stand for the unconditional implementation of the UN Security Council decisions concerning the independence of Namibia, and is urging an immediate end to the regime of racial discrimination that represents a severe and mass violation of fundamental human rights. My government supports the introduction of obligatory and comprehensive sanctions against racist South Africa and the implementation of the action program aimed at solving the problems of the entire area."

#### Assertion of Human Rights Is One of the Basic Principles of Our Society

"International agreements concerning human rights, primarily the documents on international agreements in civil, political, economic, social, and cultural rights--documents whose 20th anniversary is remembered this year all over the world--are important milestones of cooperation in the framework of the world organization.

"The assertion and safeguarding of human rights in Hungary is one of the basic rights by developing socialist democracy, and by fulfilling our international obligations. At UN forums we attribute great importance to the efforts aimed at ensuring human rights and at eliminating mass and severe violations of the law. I would like to stress separately that my government has established rather useful and constructive cooperation with the international bodies monitoring the implementation of international agreements, and my government believes that it would greatly promote the universal assertion of human rights if an increasing number of states were to join these agreements.

"The universal assertion of human rights also includes, of course, the assurance and safeguarding of minorities' rights. In Hungary the minorities' equal participation in the social, political, economic, and cultural life of the country is an important element of the prevailing national unity. By guaranteeing the institutional and democratic framework of their existence and collective rights, our state promotes the development of the self-awareness of the minorities living in Hungary.



"We are convinced that a further development and strengthening of multilateral cooperation in humanitarian, human rights, and social issues can contribute considerably to the creation of a comprehensive international security system. Part of the reality of our age is that strengthening the security of states is inseparable from efforts aimed at implementing human rights. The development of interstate cooperation also presupposes the strengthening of international security, among other spheres, in the humanitarian area. With its own means, the United Nations must continue to play an important role in this.

"An important historical experience of past decades is that the stronger economic cooperation is among countries with different social orders and among the countries of the world, the firmer the foundation on which political relations can rely."

#### For an International System of Economic Security

The present state of the international economy does not look to optimistic. Many people are searching in many places for ways and means of staving off the unfavorable effects of the international economy. In our view the only realistic and feasible solution is one that is acceptable to all countries; our common interests demand the just and equal reshaping of economic relations, respecting the sovereignty and legitimate interests of countries. The United Nations and its specialized agencies are natural forums for these efforts.

The documents adopted by these agencies provide a suitable foundation for creating an international system of economic security. It is high time we began fulfilling the democratic principles governing international relations, principles which could become the foundation for a system incorporating the theory and practice of mutual advantages and mutual confidence and reliability, principles which are free from discrimination. It is necessary to constantly coordinate political interests based on often conflicting economic interests, because this is the only way to enable the world economy and its integral elements, the national economies and economic integrations, to create progressive economic policies under favorable conditions.

It is also the basic interest of my homeland to establish an international economic environment that provides favorable conditions to improve international economic cooperation. This would help us to implement our economic goals. Therefore, we are willing--together with the other UN member states--to accept all proposals and carry out all measures which will bring the above-mentioned goals closer to materialization.

#### We Pay Special Attention to Europe

Because of its geographical location and historical traditions and opportunities, Hungary pays special attention to Europe, which we consider our motherland in the wider sense. We react sensitively to the direct influence of European events that are, of course, organic parts of international politics in a broader connection.

The more than a decade of experience of the European security and cooperation process gives us confidence. True, the relationship between the two conflicting political-military alliances has not as yet significantly changed in Europe; and as yet it has not been possible to reduce the great number of armed forces or the irrational and stockpiled arsenals of arms, including the most destructive nuclear means and other weapons of mass destruction.

Nevertheless, European interstate relations show that sudden tensions have struck with less force and caused less damage. Within the framework of this process an important agreement was recently signed in Stockholm on reducing the dangers of war in Europe. Europe has been able to obtain valuable experience in the various fields of peaceful cooperation between countries with different social systems, belonging to different military alliances, or that are neutral or nonaligned, and in cooperation based on mutual reliability and confidence. In this respect Hungary may refer to excellent and fruitful experience. A specific system of East-West relations began to emerge after the Helsinki Final Document was signed by the representatives of 35 countries in 1975. This system has proved that joint interests, even under the serious strains of this decade, are able to alleviate all kinds of controversy, serious tensions, and crises in confidence. Therefore, these experiences are also edifying with respect to the development of the international situation as a whole.

Our homeland is interested in carrying on the Helsinki process and will do its best to do so. This was proved by the success of the Cultural Forum held in Budapest last fall, and by the hundreds of proposals and suggestions submitted by the participating government delegations and cultural personalities. As regards guidelines for developing cooperation, we believe that all participants must make efforts to establish a unified concept of the Final Document, to deal with all three topics [kosar] equally, and to observe commitments everywhere. The third follow-up meeting of the process will soon begin in Vienna, the capital of neutral Austria. We sincerely hope that it will be a significant milestone in deepening the cooperation of participating states.

#### We Believe in the Continuation of the Budapest Initiative

In this respect we believe it is now necessary and also possible for Europe to proceed on the road of practical disarmament. In order to serve this aim, the Warsaw Pact member-states formulated their proposals in Budapest regarding a comprehensive program for reducing conventional armed forces and weaponry. We are convinced that these proposals are realistic, timely, and flexible enough to be considered the basis for constructive negotiations. We would like to hope that, as a result of the Budapest initiative, the political detente will be complemented by military detente, thus resulting in a response similar to the Budapest appeal in 1969, which led to the Helsinki conference, this historically important event of our continent.

I am convinced that the aforementioned has been enough to prove that the Hungarian People's Republic pursues its foreign policy and its foreign relations in the spirit of the UN Charter. It is our immediate goal to provide the most favorable international conditions possible for our domestic construction. Accordingly, we will endeavor to participate in the efforts to safeguard world peace and consolidate international security. In the political, economic, humanitarian, and every other field we pursue sincere cooperation with all those who are indeed willing to do so, with those who understand the importance of multilateral international cooperation and good interstate relations by respecting each other's rights and interests, with those who realize how vitally necessary it is for them to have increased and closer relations and to create and strengthen confidence between states in all fields of international relations.

#### Year 1986--An International Year of Peace

The year 1986 is the International Year of Peace. Its appeal to foster mutual understanding and cooperation aroused great attention in all countries of the world, and in our homeland as well. In this spirit I can assure you, Mr Chairman, that the Hungarian delegation will approach the questions on the agenda in the coming weeks in a constructive spirit, and it is prepared, as much as it can to contribute to the success of this current General Assembly, in order to enable its 41st session to perceptibly promote the preservation of world peace, the improvement of the general political atmosphere, and international cooperation on a multilateral basis," Foreign Minister Peter Varkonyi concluded.

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POLITICS

HUNGARY

PCI'S NATTA INTERVIEWED ON PARTY POLICY, TIES WITH MSZMP

AU081551 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 4 Oct 86 p 5

[Interview with Alessandro Natta, secretary general of the PCI, in Budapest by Jenő Farago and István Zalai: "Italian Communists for Democracy, Peace"—date not given--first paragraph is newspaper's introduction]

[Text] A guest paid a visit to Budapest last week, Alessandro Natta, secretary general of the PCI, who came to our country at the invitation of János Kádár, general secretary of the MSZMP. On this occasion our staff members asked Alessandro Natta about the domestic and international activities of the PCI.

[Farago, Zalai] An important event occurred in Italian politics this year. It was the PCI congress, the date of which was brought forward, which focused on the demands to renew the party's ideological, political, and structural profile. Why was it necessary to put such great emphasis on this issue at this particular time?

[Natta] The main task of the 17th congress was to respond to the proliferation of conservative neoliberalism and to the Reaganist attacks. As a result of these, East-West tensions in international relations increased and, on the economic side, an idea spread which is expressed by the slogan: "less administrative interference, more market." This approach has unleashed a wild race for profits within the whole of Western society, and by hailing the success of the stronger and the shrewder and the exclusion of the weaker and the defenseless, it has triggered an erosion of progressive values, the values of solidarity and human relationships.

This trend of our age, which reflects and multiplies existing contradictions, has linked up with new aspects of real historical processes, such as the spreading and acceleration of the scientific and technological revolution; the internationalization of the economy, and the influence that mass communication means exert with respect to cultural conformity. In many places in the West, this was how the capitalists responded to the advancement of the workers and democratic movement that has been taking place in recent decades. This movement is now in a difficult position. It was too late in making an analysis and it reacted to the challenge with hesitation and a lack

of unity. It was the victim of attacks and it would be a mistake to underestimate them, but to overestimate them would also be ill-founded, and would finally lead to failure. There have been and are many signs indicating that it is not only necessary but also possible to provide a democratic, leftist answer. With its theoretical, programmatic, and political proposals, our congress intended to contribute to the new rallying of democratic forces, to the counterattack by the left in Italy and Western Europe. The congress did this in the understanding that the rapprochement and unity of these forces are vital for boosting and improving the democratic and socialist struggle. We also wanted to look beyond our frontiers, because experience shows that it is difficult to confront the challenges of our age without closed ranks, and it is very difficult to find socialistic solutions if these solutions are not incorporated into the framework of struggle on a European scale.

This, however, does not mean giving up our identity. On the contrary! In the same manner as before, we are continuing along the road indicated by the great historical legacy of the PCI, its strategic concepts, and the methods and aims of its peaceful and democratic struggle for the renewal of the state and society.

This is why this congress--that was brought forward--emphasized the demand to adapt the party theoretically, politically, and structurally in line with present realities and the requirements that characterize the trends of this reality; to make the party more than a mere observer of all these; to make our policy more effective in order to finally attain the victory of the cause for which the PCI was born, a cause which makes the PCI's existence and advancement more necessary than ever.

[Farago, Zalai] At the congress you drew up the PCI's proposal for a so-called program-government. What does this really entail?

[Natta] What directly preceded our proposal was the obvious failure and unsuitability of the five-party government with respect to solving the institutional and moral crisis of Italian society, a crisis that has further deepened over recent years.

And with reference to the previous period as well, the proposal for program-government rests on the urgent necessity of breaking the power groups' logic, which is based on predetermined prerequisites. This old contagion poisoning Italian politics has led to the PCI's exclusion from the government majority, that is, the exclusion of almost one-third of the voters.

Our proposal, on the other hand, calls for an approach relying on programs, namely, on the solution of the numerous problems facing our national community. Federations and governments should be based on these concrete and priority issues, according to the willingness of parties to indeed implement concrete decisions, on which reports must later be given to citizens. That is, the change referred to is more than a methodological one, it is a real political change.

[Natta continues] The immediate aims of this are as follows: ensuring a role for our country and Europe in peace, and dialogue; institutional reform, the rights of citizens to have, above all, justice and information; acknowledgement of the failure of the neoliberal and conservative economic policy; a reasonable and just tax policy; and full employment. The PCI's sharing in such a program-government would provide a guarantee and the pre-requisites for consistently making decisions concrete.

Although Premier Craxi admitted that our proposal is serious and very significant, the government crisis was again "solved" by a poor and contradictory renewal of the old coalition.

[Farago, Zalai] The government crisis ended with an agreement that next spring the Socialists will pass on the premier's post to the Christian Democrats. What is the PCI's opinion?

[Natta] We cannot expect much good from this. What has happened proves our analysis that the government crisis has come to an end, but not the political crisis. The parties in the government are much more preoccupied with their presupposed electoral interests than with the country's needs. Actually, I do not think, I do not know whether there will be a five-party government next spring or an early election. [sentence as published]

We believe we are struggling for an alternative based on definite programs. In this respect, I think, we have made some progress since the congress. It is not enough to have a kind of "top-level" agreement, for example with the Socialist Party. What we need is a broad and unified movement of the masses, which will shift the forces and provide positive answers to the questions of workers and the nation. Whether elections are held in 1987 or 1988, we must present ourselves in this manner.

[Farago, Zalai] In Italy significant changes have taken place within society, especially as regards the effects of the scientific and technological revolution. How much do these changes influence the party's activity and its federative policy?

[Natta] In spite of the obviously positive influence of the modernization of the country's technologies and the economy, the old contradictions of Italian society have remained and, what is more, increased. At the same time, these changes have given rise to specific structural problems.

The most serious problem is the party's basis within society. Of course, the PCI has always had deep roots in the working class, among seasonal workers, day-laborers, peasants, and metayer tenants. The changing pattern of social classes raised new questions. For instance, there are classes that have now almost disappeared such as agricultural day-laborers and metayer tenants. Our membership has dropped over recent years, and this political consequence is also based on the changing pattern of society.

At the same time, however, as a result of the scientific and technological revolution, new and significant classes have emerged comprising researchers, experts, clerks, production managers, white-collar employees, and the service and education staff. There is the solid base of a new and broad class of entrepreneurs, which is sensitive toward democratic principles and objectively interested in a policy of change and progress. Thus, it would be necessary to expand the organizational strength of the party to new dimensions.

Another serious problem is how to approach the younger generations. There is a phenomenon that increasingly affects both ourselves and the other political forces, that is, the withdrawal of young people, their disgust at and refusal of politics, political struggle, the organized way of dealing with politics within a party or a trade union. Of course, the reason for this is that political opinion in Italy has degenerated, and politics is often regarded as the politics of power, which is characterized by the pursuit of positions of power, business, the linking of politics and speculation, amorality, corruption, and bureaucracy. All these have very negative effects among young people. This is a loss in the sense of what we in politics describe as the struggle for great values guided by principles, and not by political games and the pursuit of position. We only have to recall the last government crisis, when the most heated debate was over the person for the premier's post and not over the tasks to be solved, or Italy's stance regarding foreign policy, the economy, and welfare policy. We must also reestablish our contacts with young people.

And finally, there is a historical question as well. After the liberation we tried to establish a party of the masses, a big organization. However, the party's political view of itself as a mass organization and the efforts to establish one were not successful everywhere. There are provinces in the country, such as Emilia and Tuscany, where the Communist Party has become a big organization. There are, however, provinces such as those in the south, where we were unable to become a strong political movement. Even though our party received a lot of votes, we did not have an organized party. We remained somewhat like a party of "opinion." We have repeatedly gained and lost votes. The reason for this is, I think, that we failed to shape our party into an organization that is alive every day, at every moment, and which maintains contact with the masses and is always present among them.

[Natta continues] All the problems I have mentioned above--the social basis, youth, and the mass character of the party--are of critical importance in big cities like Rome, Palermo, or Naples. We must search for new organizational forms and uncover the most suitable means by which the party can maintain daily contact with the people living in big cities and can become a force of political initiatives.

The PCI is approaching the issue of political alliance from the viewpoint of these changes, an issue that, in its ever concrete historical definability, has always been of determining importance for the working class, the workers, and the leftwing. It is obvious that no program for this change can be successfully developed without conducting a thoroughly considered alliance policy toward the new strata of society.

Therefore, our party--which at its 17th congress set the goal of renewing and fundamentally reforming Italian society--is endeavoring to win over the new democratic forces of society which are looking ahead to the turn of the century, the new technological cadres, the various youth and women's movements, the environmentalists, the cultural associations, the Catholics and members of other religions, the revived trade union movement, and the democratic trends of the new entrepreneurial strata of society.

[Farago, Zalai] As declared at the congress: "As part of the Western European left, the PCI is for deepening integration within the EEC and for a unified Western Europe." Why? In the PCI's view, what would this unified Western Europe look like, and what role could it play in international politics?

[Natta] In the course of mankind's history the world has never been more divided than at present, but mutual dependence has never been so strong, either. The PCI's "European choice" is an attempt to provide all the revolutionary, democratic forces and forces of reform with answers to several great theoretical and political problems deriving from this contradiction. To provide answers to all forces that wish to maintain peace and that desire the fulfillment of social justice and individual freedom.

However, when we speak of a "European choice" we do not say that we are satisfied with the present form of the EEC which is characterized by mutual distrust among member-states, profiteering, and the choking limitations imposed by subordination to the superpower leading the military and political bloc of which the EEC is part. There is no doubt that great pressure is exerted by the United States on its Western Europe allies. The less the divided allies are capable [of] revealing and asserting their own particular interests, even if they have to do this within the framework of the deep historical, economic, and political relations binding them to the United States and to the West as a whole, the more severe this pressure and its consequences are.

We are struggling for the economic and political integration of the EEC and not for the creation of a "third bloc," because this would destabilize the worldwide balance. This would be in harmony with the old and ominous concept of a world divided into camps that confront each other. We are struggling for the unity and independence of the community within the framework of the struggle for detente, disarmament, and peace. It is our conviction that peaceful coexistence and the worldwide promotion of a new international order provide the framework and main conditions of development for the process of European integration.

Our "European choice," therefore, outlines the most suitable area in which we wish to begin our struggle, on both a national level and beyond, to organize a new type of secure international relations and to profoundly modify the EEC's structure, orientation, and current leading strata.



Our "European choice" is indissolubly related to our conviction that the PCI is an integral part of the European Left. For our part, we wish to endeavor to advance in the exchange of views and in the search for the conditions for understanding and rapprochement. We are endeavoring to make every left-wing participant increasingly aware that, if victory is to be achieved, there is a need to jointly face the challenges that derive from the state of division and mutual dependence existing within the EEC in particular.

[Farago, Zalai] Analyzing the current international situation, the PCI places the issue of war and peace in the forefront, preceding any other issue. How do you evaluate the developments in world politics? How do you evaluate the peace program outlined at the 27th CPSU Congress and the recent peace initiatives of the socialist countries?

[Natta] "Peace before all else"--this is the main goal that has long encouraged and characterized our party's international activity. Led by Togliatti, as early as the fifties our party rejected the concept of the inevitability of war. In the age of nuclear arms, war would--as a matter of course--lead to the destruction of civilization; and recently we have not shared the opinion that sought to identify the struggle for peace with the struggle for socialism. Progressive and conservative forces, proletarians and middle-class citizens, believers and non-believers are equally interested in peace.

[Natta continues] And the issue of the type of social order used by societies should be decided by free competition and democratic negotiations, and confrontations between the various political and social forces of individual nations. This concept makes us place peace in front of and above everything else.

In my view, in the current world situation there are dangerous factors causing deep concern on one hand, and on the other hand hopeful and favorable possibilities, of asserting the policy of detente, disarmament, cooperation, and peace. Obviously, within its power the PCI is endeavoring to eliminate the danger and promote every process and make use of every possibility that can contribute to halting and reversing the arms race, to realistic, balanced, and verified disarmament measures covering all areas, to strengthening confidence, and to mutually advantageous cooperation among all the states, between East and West, North and South.

We highly regard every initiative in this direction, no matter where it originates. We regard it as very important that the Soviet leadership expressed--by renewing the earlier guideline already declared at the 20th congress--the need for detente and disarmament, and the principle of mutual security. We appreciate all this in the awareness that a war in our age would lead to total destruction, and that the world is a whole in which we must not only live together but also cooperate. Related to this, we

highly appreciated the Budapest appeal of the Warsaw Pact member-states, the Soviet disarmament initiatives, and the recent extension of the moratorium on nuclear arms tests. This was a unilateral step that stirred world public opinion. Comrade Gorbachev stressed that there was a need to halt armament and said that this was in harmony with the peoples' needs. There are people who are arguing whether this is a sign of strength or not. I believe this shows the truth and the convincing desire for peace.

[Farago, Zalai] What is the opinion of the PCI concerning the U.S. 'star wars' plans and Italian participation in the project, a decision that was taken recently?

[Natta] We have clearly opposed the so-called SDI plan of the United States from the moment it was declared. We reject the idea that the development of technological and scientific research must necessarily be asserted by means of military application and the creation of new systems of weapons to be deployed in space. On the contrary, the recent tragedy at Chernobyl and other unstable and dangerous situations in other parts of the world show even more the need for scientific research and new technological results to serve peace and social progress, and the greater security of human life and the natural environment.

[Farago, Zalai] Finally, let me ask you a question about bilateral experiences. This is your first visit to Budapest as secretary general. Now, after the talks, how do you evaluate relations between the PCI and the MSZMP?

[Natta] The last visit to Hungary by a PCI secretary general was in September 1977, more exactly, 9 years ago. At that time Comrade Enrico Berlinguer, who unfortunately has since left us, met with Comrade Janos Kadar and other MSZMP leaders. Prior to my visit to Budapest I went over the documents of that visit. I could again highly appreciate the conviction was already expressed at that time: Differences and divergences of views in the relations between parties, and various trends in the workers and international progressive movements--even if these differences refer to important points in individual concepts and political practice--cannot hinder sincere, friendly, and constructive relations. I think I can say that this kind of spirit has been prevalent in the relations between the PCI and the MSZMP in recent years. This enabled us to also maintain and strengthen our relations and dialogue, our productive cooperation, and our mutual respect for one another in the tense moments of evaluating events that determine international life and adopting standpoints concerning these events.

In the course of my talks with Comrade Kadar--whom I had the pleasure of meeting for the first time--and other MSZMP leaders, I have become convinced that relations between the PCI and the MSZMP can develop further in the future, based on mutual interests, for the benefit of strengthening the ties of friendship and cooperation between Italy and Hungary.

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CSO: 2500/32

POLITICS

HUNGARY

# SELF-HELP ASSOCIATION FOR SOCIAL BENEFITS, INSURANCE PLANNED

Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 9 Jul 86 p 7

[Article: "Social Service Self-Help Association in the Public Sector; HVDSZ Leadership Initiates Debate Among Members."]

[Text] Consistent with the spirit of its Ninth Congress, at its Tuesday session the Presidium of the Union of Local Industry and Urban Business Workers [HVDSZ] considered the possibility of establishing a social service self help association.

The goals of the association would be as follows: [1] to increase the financial security of public service employees; [2] to strengthen their sense of belonging to the workplace and to stabilize the core of employees; [3] to provide an opportunity for the evolution of human values; and [4] to provide a basis for mutual assistance and support in difficult periods of life so that those in trouble [need] may feel the collective backing and support of the association. The association would accomplish these goals through stronger cooperation and through the enrichment of available means that implement social policies.

Active and retired workers of communal and public service companies could become members of the association on a voluntary basis. The voluntary association would function under rules approved by the membership and under the direction of a leadership selected by the members. Depending on the association's size, leadership could be provided through a general meeting, a meeting of delegates or through selectmen. The operational tasks would be accomplished through an executive director, a deputy director, an accountant, a treasurer and an administrator. Their efforts would be aided by organizers from enterprises as a matter of social service.

Preliminary calculations suggest monthly membership dues of 50-100 forints. The association would operate on a non-profit basis, it could independently manage its income, and would cover its expenses out of that income. Approximately 75-80 percent of the annual dues would revert directly to the membership in the form of social services or financial support in case of illness, accident, occupational disability, death or retirement. This would

continually enhance the standard of living of retired persons, and assist those who establish families.

Approximately 5-10 percent of the undistributed amount would be spent on joint projects, such as the development of recreational and retirement homes, and health care establishments, while 10-12 percent would be earmarked for operational expenses.

According to preliminary calculations 5 million forints would be needed to start up operations. Of this amount some 2 million forints would be provided from the Union's reserve funds in the form of an interest-free loan. The remaining 3 million would become available through contributions received from various enterprises.

A membership of 30 thousand would be necessary for the establishment of the association. If it is possible to win the confidence of that many workers, the association could begin functioning as of January 1, 1988. The Presidium plans to submit its plan for the establishment of the social self-help association for consideration and debate by communal and public service workers. The affected local chapters of trade unions will soon be notified of the [Presidium's] perception of the proposed association, and union stewards, together with the membership will jointly formulate positions. If the majority of the union membership agrees, the Presidium will review and debate the plan during the first quarter of next year, together with modifications that may have been recommended in the meantime. The plan will then be submitted to the Central Leadership for approval.

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POLITICS

POLAND

CORRESPONDENT REPORTS ON U.S. 'DISINFORMATION' AFFAIR

AU111654 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 8 Oct 86 pp 1, 2

[Dispatch by Zbigniew Broniarek, "our permanent correspondent in Washington":  
"How Can al-Qadhdhafi Be Removed? The Mechanism of Provocation"]

[Text] In the sixties, during my previous stay in Washington, a statement made by Arthur Sylvester, a Pentagon under secretary of state for press affairs, provoked a great furor. Sylvester had said: "The government has a right to lie in order to defend itself." A similar situation has arisen today. On 2 October THE WASHINGTON POST stated that on 14 August the White House approved a disinformation campaign that was designed to topple the Libyan leader, Colonel al-Qadhdhafi.

The chronology of the "Libyan" affair is particularly interesting. On 14 April the United States bombs Libya. Certain members of the administration tell journalists frankly, although anonymously, that they would not be worried if al-Qadhdhafi happened to die in the attack. Al-Qadhdhafi is not killed and efforts to topple him are stepped up. On 6 August a "working paper" is circulated through appropriate interministerial channels. The State Department suggests organizing a disinformation campaign that might result in al-Qadhdhafi's assassination. On 7 August a preliminary planning group--a group set up to deal with the events that may occur in a crisis and composed of senior officials from the State Department, the Defense Ministry, the CIA, and the White House--approves the document. On 12 August Admiral John M. Poindexter, the President's national security advisers, sends Reagan a memorandum based on the document but with the word "assassination" removed. On 14 August a meeting of the National Security Council is held at the White House. Reagan takes part in the meeting, which approves the policy set out in Poindexter's memorandum (that is, the version that does not contain the word "assassination"). On 25 August THE WALL STREET JOURNAL carries an article stating that "the United States and Libya are bound on a course that will lead to conflict" and that the United States will "very shortly" take military action against Libya. On 26 August White House spokesman Speakes says that THE WALL STREET JOURNAL article is "authoritative".

THE WASHINGTON POST states that Secretary of State George Shultz and CIA Director William Casey are among the strongest advocates of al-Qadhdhafi's removal. (Shultz is even said to have joked that "al-Qadhdhafi ought to be

infected with AIDS.") Casey calls for "action, swift action." The persons charged with undertaking this "action" are Richard Kerr, the new CIA deputy director for matters relating to the analysis of intelligence material, and Thomas Teeten, a senior official in the CIA's Asian and Mideast department. Others taking part in the "action" are Vincent M. Cannistrano, CIA operations officer, and Howard R. Teicher, director of the Office for Political and Military Affairs attached to the National Security Council. It was Teicher who spoke to a WALL STREET JOURNAL reporter before the publication of the aforementioned article.

As for the removal of the word "assassination" from Poindexter's memorandum, it should be noted that a 1981 presidential directive states: "No person employed by the U.S. Government or acting on its behalf may carry out an assassination or initiate a conspiracy for the purpose of effecting an assassination." We will not go into the question of why such a directive should be needed in the first place. What is of greater interest is an anonymous statement made by a highly placed administration official and quoted by Woodward in THE WASHINGTON POST of 5 October: "They want to remove him but they do not want to get their hands dirty in the process." We know who is meant by "him," but we can only speculate about whom the "they" refers to.

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CSO: 2600/58

POLITICS

POLAND

FORMER STATE DEPARTMENT SPOKESMAN SEEN AS 'VICTIM OF DANGEROUS LIE'

AU151131 Warsaw TRYBYNA LUDU in Polish 11-12 Oct 86 p 7

[Wlodzimierz Lozinski article: "Lies and Frustration"]

[Text] On 8 October the large press stage of the U.S. State Department became a site for a small-scale personal drama. Bernard Kalb, the press spokesman of the State Department, resigned. Kalb is a professional journalist, who decided to actively participate in U.S. politics in order to exert personal influence on the implementation of "the ambitious plans devised by the Ronald Reagan Administration."

Let us say that B. Kalb, who had gained the necessary experience of many years as commentator of THE NEW YORK TIMES as well as of the CBS and NBC television networks, did whatever he could to cope with his appointed task. As a press spokesman he kept on praising the glory of Reaganism in its great-power, worldwide, and militaristic version. Even as recently as last March he was absolutely convinced that the U.S. attack against Libya was the right thing to do because, as he said, "Libya threatens U.S. interests and security."

And this very Kalb resigned for no other reason than precisely that of Libya. Standing for the last time on the high press podium in the State Department, he said: "My resignation has been occasioned by continued questions about Libya and by fears as to the credibility of the U.S. Government."

B. Kalb, who spoke for the strategic aims of Reaganism, succumbed to frustration, which was caused by the lie programmed at the summit of power. Before recalling the background of this lie, let us mention the scenario devised for the benefit of the U.S. press. On 25 August THE WALL STREET JOURNAL published an extensive Washington dispatch on "the U.S. Government's new campaign against Libya." The reason for this campaign, which might include a new armed attack, was supposed to be "the growing internal opposition against Colonel al-Qadhafi" and the U.S. fears that "the Libyan leader might engage in terrorism to save his own position."

No wonder that the entire U.S. press published this dispatch because it had been carried by one of the most serious U.S. dailies and because it was based "on well-informed sources." The cooperation of "reliable Washington

informants" provided other details for other dailies concerning the U.S. Government's necessary efforts to "render harmless the Libyan madman" (LOS ANGELES TIMES).

This time the lie was shortlived, even though it originated from such a lofty place as the White House. On 2 October, THE WASHINGTON POST, which had unearthed the Watergate scandal, published an article entitled "A Secret Disinformation Plan Directed Against al-Qadhdhafi." The article showed that on 14 August President Ronald Reagan had received from the National Council of Strategic Planning and the National Security Council a memorandum advising "a new strategy (against Libya) based on disinformation." The memorandum stated that the "basic aim of this disinformation is to induce al-Qadhdhafi to assume that there is a large measure of internal opposition against him in Libya, that his trusted aides are disloyal, and that the United States would soon employ military resources against him." Attempts were also made to commit to this action some French generals who are dissatisfied with the French Government's refusal to support the present U.S. policy.

As it turned out, the reports published by the U.S. mass media were "disinformation" especially concocted by National Security Adviser John Poindexter and accepted by President Reagan himself.

B. Kalb became a victim of a dangerous lie. Just B. Kalb and no one else? Complaining that the President failed to justify this "affair," THE NEW YORK TIMES ironically cited the words Reagan spoke on some other occasion: "The truth is the best defense and the best attack."

What, then, is the lie in question, which was not the first lie in the U.S. Government's activities?

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CSO: 2600/58



POLITICS

POLAND

SUMMIT SEEN AS GIVING 'UNIVERSAL HOPE'

AU061439 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 2 Oct 86 p 8

[A. Stanek commentary: "Meeting in Reykjavik"]

[Text] The announcement of an extraordinary Gorbachev-Reagan meeting in Reykjavik, proposed by the Soviet side, has been greeted with relief and satisfaction all over the world. The West, particularly the United States, has tended to express doubts recently whether the USSR-United States summit, agreed on in Geneva almost 1 year ago, would take place at all this year.

But here the subject is two separate top-level meetings. The first meeting, in the capital of Iceland, will not take the place of the talks meant to be held during the USSR leader's visit to Washington, the final date of which will be fixed in Reykjavik. Since the Geneva summit, the Soviet Union has been constantly stressing the need for a well-prepared further summit between the leaders of both powers. And now an excellent opportunity for such a preparation has come about. More than this, it is an opportunity without precedent: Gorbachev and Reagan will personally be able to pave the way for their Washington meeting.

For the fact is that certain matters were stuck in a blind spot, accompanied by simultaneous and general concern. And this despite many favorable circumstances.

On the one hand, as Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze said in New York, positive conditions have shaped themselves in recent months, and a climate conducive to new top-level talks has come about. Here one should mention the Soviet moratorium on nuclear explosions, the success of the Stockholm conference, and the convention on the safe development of nuclear energy that was signed in Geneva. Progress concerning a ban on chemical weapons and the voice of the nonaligned countries at the great meeting in Harare also deserve mentioning. Minister Shevardnadze recalled that new impulses toward a strengthening of security in Asia and the Pacific have appeared, and the ideas expressed by Gorbachev have animated this process. A new approach toward the settlement of regional conflicts is also being observed.

However, as far as security for everyone, a complex issue involving the whole of mankind, is concerned, nothing has moved. The arms race has not been interrupted, and the temperature of Soviet-American relations remains at a critical and dangerous level.

The Soviet leadership has noted that superstrong impulses are necessary under these conditions. The Soviet-proposed Gorbachev-Regan meeting may and should be such an impulse. As Shevardnadze says, this "preliminary" meeting should "establish the exact recommendations--I would say directives--aimed at assuring progress in some issues concerning nuclear arms and sufficient in order to achieve significant results." The discussion of bilateral relations is not ruled out either. Although not everything in the world depends on these, very much does. Especially at a time when a flood situation, as the head of Soviet diplomacy called it, is continuing in the sphere of nuclear and space weapons.

The Soviet minister calls the agreement to hold the extraordinary Gorbachev-Reagan meeting a breach in the wall. He also speaks about bilateral hope--following 25 hours of talks with Secretary of State Shultz--that "soon we can achieve many more significant results and achieve a change for the better in Soviet-American relations and relations all over the world in general."

With such a forecast, the Reykjavik meeting gives universal hope for serious and businesslike USSR-United States dialogue, for which Poland is also in favor. Here we stress that this extraordinary meeting halfway between Moscow and Washington is the result of a Soviet political and diplomatic vitality that has been evident for a long time. We also stress that it is the Soviet Union that has set the tone and tempo for this chain of events which will lead in the nearest future to this unexpected and optimism-building Gorbachev-Reagan summit.

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CSO: 2600/58

POLITICS

POLAND

# PAP PREVIEWS SOVIET MINISTER RYZHKOV'S VISIT

LD121752 Warsaw PAP in English 1512 GMT 12 Oct 86

[Text] Warsaw, 12 October--CPSU CC Political Bureau Member, Chairman of the Soviet Council of Ministers Nikolay Ryzhkov is coming to Poland 13 October for an official visit of friendship at the invitation from the PUWP CC and the Polish Government.

The visit, being yet another example of the vigorous Polish-Soviet political contacts, will serve the further development and consolidation of the brotherly friendship of our nations, and add new impetus to the mutually advantageous cooperation. It is of fundamental significance in the process of creation and development of our socialist statehood.

Cooperation with the Soviet Union has constituted a vital factor of Poland's economic development throughout the entire history of people's Poland.

The Marxist-Leninist parties in both countries are the driving force for the Polish-Soviet friendship, and meetings of leaders Wojciech Jaruzelski with Mikhail Gorbachev constitute a particular impulse for the development of mutual cooperation. These intensive contacts each time mark a significant step forward on the road of tightening the bonds of friendship between our nations and cooperation of both countries.

Such meetings took place in the crucial moments of both countries' social and economic development, that is, during the 27th CPSU and 10th PUWP Congresses.

The rhythm of life of the Polish and Soviet nations is currently subdued to the materialization of the Congress resolutions. This means the necessity to seek the best possible forms of cooperation that would permit concentration of capitals, economic and intellectual potentials, and better use of the technical and technological achievements in both countries.

New joint undertakings have been initiated by the "long-term Programme for Economic, Scientific, and Technological Cooperation between Poland and the Soviet Union until 2000," signed in 1984. It is a document of principal significance not only for the economic cooperation but it also has political nature. It guarantees Poland's security in the international economic relations, reduces the possibility of the West using the existing economic links for political ends.

Both parties and states attach particular weight to securing favourable international conditions for a creative work of their societies. Of particular significance in this domain are Soviet peace initiatives and that country's efforts aimed at international security, arms limitations and bringing down tensions, which mobilize forces for defending a peaceful future of the world.

These initiatives invariably enjoy Poland's support because they form a factor conducive to preservation of peace worldwide and to a safe development of our country.

While evaluating the development of Polish-Soviet cooperation a few days ago, the PUWP CC recommended a consistent implementation of tasks in all the hitherto directions and planes of cooperation between the brotherly parties and countries.

These issues, as well as the comprehensive evaluation of bilateral and international relations, will certainly be a topic of talks during the Warsaw visit of the chairman of the Soviet Council of Ministers.

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CSO: 2020/14

POLITICS

POLAND

REPORTAGE ON JARUZELSKI VISIT TO DPRK

Press Version of Joint 'Communique'

AU031327 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 29 Sep 86 p 7

["Press communique" on visit of PPR party-state delegation led by Wojciech Jaruzelski, PZPR Central Committee first secretary and State Council chairman, to the DPRK from 24 to 28 September, date and place of issue not given]

[Text] I

A PPR party-state delegation headed by Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski, PZPR Central Committee first secretary and State Council chairman, paid an official visit of friendship to the DPRK from 24 to 28 September at the invitation of Kim Il-song, secretary general of the Central Committee of the Workers Party of Korea [WPK].

The distinguished Polish guest and the persons accompanying him were accorded a warm welcome during the visit, which reflected the traditional relations of friendship existing between both parties, states, and peoples.

The delegation laid wreaths at the cemetery of revolutionaries on Teson Hill, at the liberation monument on Morau Hill which commemorates the heroic soldiers of the Soviet Army, and at the friendship monument commemorating the participation of Chinese people's volunteers in the war for the fatherland. The delegation also visited a series of cultural and economic premises in the DPRK and met with the inhabitants of the capital at a friendship rally.

Talks were held between W. Jaruzelski, PZPR Central Committee first secretary and PPR State Council chairman; and Kim Il-song, WPK Central Committee general secretary and DPRK president. These proceeded in an atmosphere of fraternal friendship and mutual understanding.

The following participated in the talks:

On the Polish side--Jozef Czyrek, PZPR Politburo member and Central Committee secretary; Czeslaw Kiszczak, PZPR Politburo member, minister of internal affairs, and army general; Zbigniew Szalajda, PZPR Central Committee member

and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers; Michal Janiszewski, head of the Office of Ministers and general of division; Boguslaw Kolodziejczak, PZPR secretariat; Ernest Kucza, PZPR Central Committee member and director of the Central Committee Foreign Department; Eugeniusz Morz, PZPR Central Committee member and first secretary of the Opole Voivodship PZPR Committee; Jerzy Breitkopf, head of the State Council Chancellery; Jan Majewski, undersecretary of state for foreign affairs; and Mieczyslaw Dedo, PPR ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary in Pyongyang.

On the Korean side--Yi Chong-ok, WPK Political Bureau member and vice-president; Kim Yong-nam, WPK Political Bureau member, vice-premier of the Administration Council, and foreign minister; Kye Yng-tae, WPK Political Bureau candidate member and Central Committee secretary; Kim Pok-sin, WPK Political Bureau candidate member and vice-premier of the Administration Council; Hwang Chang-yop, WPK Central Committee secretary; Paek Hak-nim, minister of public security; Kwon Min-chun, deputy chief of the WPK Central Committee International Department; Kim Hyong-yul, vice minister of foreign affairs; and O Man-sok, DPRK ambassador to Poland.

During the talks there was an exchange of information on the activity of the two parties, the situation in Poland and Korea, and the experience gained during socialist construction in the two countries; and tasks involved in a further development of Polish-Korean relations were discussed. Much attention was devoted to current questions of perpetuating peace and international security.

Wojciech Jaruzelski reported on the further progress in normalizing economic and sociopolitical life in Poland achieved thanks to the efforts of the working people and the party's stronger leadership role, on the results of the tighter bilateral cooperation with the socialist countries and multilateral cooperation within the CEMA framework, and on the counteraction of the difficulties caused by the restrictions and destabilizing activity of some Western states. He also presented information on the course and results of the 10th PZPR Congress, which established a program of the further development of socialist construction in Poland.

Kim Il-song reported on the achievements of the Korean people during the struggle to implement the lines of three revolutions--ideological, technological, and cultural--these having been established by the Sixth WPK Congress, and spoke about future socialist construction tasks. He also reported on the tense situation in the Korean Peninsula; on the South Korean people's struggle for independence and democracy and against American imperialism and dictatorship; and on the efforts of the WPK and DPRK government to ease the tension in Korea and accelerate a self-achieved, peaceful unification.

## II.

The two sides stated with satisfaction that Polish-Korean relations based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism are developing favorably in all spheres, creating a basis for further mutually

advantageous cooperation, and serving to consolidate the unity of the socialist countries as well as the forces of democracy, progress, and peace in the world. The particular importance of closer cooperation between the PZPR and WPK was emphasized.

Satisfaction was expressed with the results of the decisions reached in May 1984 during the Polish visit by Kim Il-song, WPK Central Committee general secretary and DPRK president. A positive assessment was given to the work so far of the Polish-Korean Consultative Commission for Economic and Scientific-Technological Affairs, whose 10th session took place during the visit. Particular praise was given to that part of the Commission's work concerning cooperation in the mining, electrical machine, chemical, energy, and transportation industries. The main paths of future cooperation were discussed. Satisfaction was also expressed with the successful implementation of the long-term trade agreement, the attainment of equilibrium in the balance of payments, and the conclusion in November 1985 of a new 5-year agreement calling for a considerable rise in goods turnover between the two countries.

### III.

During an exchange of views on international topics, a consensus of the stances held by Poland and the DPRK on basic problems of the modern world was noted. It was stated that the world situation continues to be tense and complicated as a result of the aggressive, interventionist policy of imperialism, especially American imperialism.

Both sides believe that the most pressing problem facing mankind today is the prevention of thermonuclear war, the preservation of peace, and safeguarding of security in the world. In this connection, the two sides indicated the need for the socialist countries and peace-loving forces to step up efforts to halt the arms race, especially nuclear arms, and bring about total disarmament.

The two sides expressed full support for the Soviet Union's constructive, peaceful proposals advanced by CPSU Central Committee General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev in the 15 January statement, expounded at the 27th CPSU Congress, and contained in his 28 July Vladivostok speech. They recognized that these proposals paint a real prospect of liberating the world from nuclear and chemical weapons and other means of mass-destruction, and establishing lasting, peaceful cooperation between states and peoples. The Korean side expressed its support for the message from the Warsaw Pact member-state to the European states, United States, and Canada concerning the formation of nuclear-free zones in Europe.

The two sides condemned the aggressive and interventionist policy of the United States in the Middle East, which is a danger to peace in Asia, including the Korean peninsula; and spoke out in favor of intensified activity in order to consolidate security and preserve peace in this region of the world.

The Polish side reiterated its support for the DPRK Government's proposals concerning the withdrawal of American forces from South Korea and the unification of the country on the way to the creation of the Confederative Democratic Republic of Koryo.

Speaking out in favor of efforts to achieve detente, develop constructive cooperation between states, perpetuate world peace, bring peoples together, and create favorable conditions for a peaceful unification of Korea, the Polish side expressed support for the DPRK proposal concerning the joint organization of the 24th Olympic Games in both parts of Korea.

#### IV.

Wojciech Jaruzelski and Kim Il-song signed a declaration of friendship and cooperation between the PPR and DPRK.

A bilateral agreement on legal aid in civil, family, and criminal cases was also signed.

The two sides stressed the importance of exchange visits at various levels between the PPR and DPRK, and expressed the conviction that the course and results of the visit to the DPRK by Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski, PZPR Central Committee first secretary and PPR State Council chairman, will serve to further enhance the relations of fraternal friendship and mutually advantageous cooperation between Poland and Korea, in the interests of their peoples and the cause of socialism and peace.

Wojciech Jaruzelski, PZPR Central Committee first secretary and PPR State Council chairman, invited Kim Il-song, WPK Central Committee general secretary and DPRK president, to pay an official visit of friendship to Poland. He also extended an invitation to Kim Chong-il, member of the Presidium of the Political Bureau and WPK Central Committee secretary. The invitations were accepted with satisfaction.

#### Zhao Ziyang Speaks at Jaruzelski Dinner

AU071135 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 30 Sep 86 p 7

[Speech by Zhao Ziyang, chairman of the PRC State Council, at an official dinner in honor of Wojciech Jaruzelski, PZPR Central Committee first secretary and chairman of the PPR State Council, in Beijing on 28 September]

[Text] PAP--Esteemed Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski, PZPR Central Committee first secretary and chairman of the PPR State Council!

Comrades and friends!

On the occasion of the arrival in China of Comrade W. Jaruzelski and other Polish comrades, allow me to extend sincere and cordial greetings on behalf of the Chinese Government, General Secretary Hua Yaobang, and Chairmen Deng Xiaoping and Li Xiannian.



The Chinese nation has always followed with goodwill and interest every success attained by the Polish people in the construction of socialism. By way of wisdom and hard work the heroic Polish nation has built the blossoming PPR on the ruins of war. A few years ago Poland encountered some difficulties, but thanks to the effective actions taken by the PZPR Central Committee and the Polish Government, actions that were based on the strength of the nation, the domestic political situation was quickly stabilized and the economy has improved and grown year by year. We sincerely congratulate the Polish nation on the successes that it has achieved under the leadership of the Polish party and government headed by Comrade W. Jaruzelski.

Comrades, since the establishment of the new China we have achieved enormous successes in the construction of socialism but we have also experienced difficulties and failures. The third plenary session of our party's 11th Central Committee, which took place in 1978, initiated a new period of dynamic development in the construction of socialism in our country. The Sixth 5-Year Plan was implemented successfully. The implementation of the Seventh 5-Year Plan has already begun. The reform of the economic system has produced tangible results. A reform of the political system will also appear on our agenda. The policy for invigorating our economy and the opening up to the world have injected new vitality into our economy. The sixth plenary session of the 12th Central Committee has just ended its deliberations and has adopted a resolution on strengthening spiritual and cultural values, which will be of great significance for the construction of socialism with Chinese characteristics. Under the leadership of the party and government, the Chinese nation is striving to transform our country into a modern and powerful socialist country with a high level of democracy and civilization.

The peoples of China and Poland are united by profound traditions of friendship. In recent years Chinese-Polish relations, which are based on principles of mutual respect, equality, and mutual advantage, have been quickly resumed and expanded. Comrade Jaruzelski's visit has renewed contacts at the highest level. I am convinced that your visit will make an important contribution to the further enhancement of mutual understanding and friendship between our countries and peoples. It will become an important milestone in the history of Chinese-Polish relations.

I propose a toast:

To traditional friendship and broad cooperation between Poland and China and between the peoples of both our countries!

To the health of Comrade W. Jaruzelski!

To the health of all the Polish and Chinese comrades present!

Jaruzelski Speech

AU021558 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 30 Sep 86 p 7

[Speech by Wojciech Jaruzelski, PZPR Central Committee first secretary and chairman of the PPR State Council, at official dinner given in his honor in Beijing on 28 September]

[Text] PAP--Esteemed Comrade Premier Zhao Ziyang!

Esteemed Chinese comrades!

I thank you for the cordial welcome, for the hospitality you have shown us, for the evidence of friendship toward the Polish people that you have displayed, and for the kind words you have addressed to our delegation. I am glad that this visit could take place. We attach great importance to it.

On behalf of the highest authorities of the PPR, I would like to convey words of respect and cordial greetings to the leadership of the PRC, to the working people, and to the entire great community of your country engaged in the construction of socialism.

Polish-Chinese friendship and cooperation have long and rich traditions. Feelings of mutual respect and sympathy have always existed. There exists, therefore, a firm foundation on which we can build with profit for our countries, for peace, and for social progress.

Today's talks fully confirm the high estimation in which we hold the present stage in our cooperation and our joint determination to expand and invigorate it. We are sincerely pleased at the prospects that exist for further enriching Polish-Chinese contacts, political dialogue, and mutually advantageous relations in all areas, including the scientific, technological, and cultural spheres.

Esteemed comrades, China, which has one of the most ancient civilizations in the history of mankind, has made an enormous contribution to the development of mankind's material and spiritual culture. During a history that is counted in thousands of years, China has experienced mixed fortunes.

We know well the bed of thorns that China has crossed. China's struggle to throw off the yoke of foreign exploitation--a struggle that entailed many sacrifices--its struggle against the bloody violence of Japanese militarists, and its fight against native exploiters began with the anti-feudal and anti-imperialist popular risings that took place during the nineteenth century and at the beginning of the twentieth century.

The ideas of the Great Socialist October Revolution provided an enormous stimulus. Under the leadership of the communists, Chinese revolutionary forces performed the great feat of liberation on their Long March and achieved an epoch-making victory. It is a fact of the greatest importance that the

the path chosen by China, with its population of billions, was that of the progressive, socialist current in development. On the day before the 37th anniversary of the foundation of the Chinese People's Republic, we extend to you, esteemed comrades, Chinese Communists, and your entire nation sincere congratulations on the great, historic changes that you have brought and on your comprehensive achievements.

The heroic struggles for China's freedom and sovereignty and then the construction of the foundations of socialism met with sincere sympathy, internationalist solidarity and support from working people on every continent, and above all from those of the socialist countries. The Polish nation, with its dramatic and difficult history and its rich experience in struggles for independence and social justice, has a special reason to cherish profound respect and recognition for your commendable traditions and present-day accomplishments.

Today it gives us pleasure to see how Beijing has developed, to see its busy streets and to see the efficiency of the Chinese people--who are renowned for their capacity for hard work--in administration and management. Please accept, esteemed comrades, best wishes for the full implementation of long-term plans, and for achieving a high rate and level of development for your great country.

Our nation too has irrevocably bound its destiny with the idea of social and national liberation, with socialism. Under the leadership of the PZPR, People's Poland, which lies within just and secure borders, has transformed itself into an industrialized country with great economic, intellectual, and cultural capacities.

We have not been spared mistakes, we have experienced a period of confusion and discord. However, by pursuing the policy line adopted at the Ninth Extraordinary Congress we have succeeded in surmounting the threat to our country and to socialism independently, by ourselves.

We have achieved and consolidated normalization. The tasks of socialist renewal are being accomplished in a resolute manner. We understand socialist renewal as the strengthening of the party's bonds with the workers' class and working people, as bold reform, as discarding what has become outdated and ineffective, and, in particular, we understand it to mean the extension of socialist democracy, the acceleration of scientific, technological, and organizational progress, and the consistent application of principles of economic rationality. This is the essence of the program that was adopted at the recent 10th Congress of the Polish Communist Party and will extend into the 21st century.

Esteemed comrades, friendship and close cooperation with the socialist states and the fraternal alliance with our great neighbor, the Soviet Union, constitutes a constant priority line in Polish foreign policy. This is one of the fundamental conditions ensuring national security and the successful accomplishment of the goals of socialist construction.

We attach great importance to the development of relations with the PRC. Despite differences in our historical and social situations, we follow with keen interest the reforms that our Chinese comrades have undertaken, the ambitious modernization program that has been tailored to suit actual conditions for the construction of socialism.

We are following the process of improving and developing the PRC's relations with other socialist states with genuine satisfaction, a process that confirms the validity of the expression "unity in diversity." We wish this process to embrace everyone and we therefore wish the participants in the process further progress along the path on which they have embarked. The mutual respect, equality, independence, and mutual advantage that attends this process promotes cooperation between the world's socialist forces in the struggle toward halting the arms race, creating a just international economic order, and strengthening peace. This is fundamental importance.

The forces of imperialism are continuing to pursue a confrontational course and are striving to halt and reverse the great historic changes that have occurred during the 20th century. The arms race is being spurred on and preparations are being made for the militarization of space. Support for counter revolutionary forces, economic restrictions, propaganda aggression, and an economic boycott are directed at undermining peaceful stability and equal cooperation between states, both in Europe and in other regions of the world.

In recent years socialist Poland has become the object of precisely such concentrated discriminatory practices. Despite constant, renewed attempts of a kind hostile to us, this wager on the permanent weakening and isolation of our country has failed completely. Thus, the outcome is the same as that of the boycott against the PRC that was upheld for more than a quarter of a century. The fiasco in which it ended proved clearly that a policy that contradicts the logic of historical processes, international law, and common sense is bound to end in failure.

The honest and realistic peace initiatives put forward by the Soviet Union and the states belonging to the socialist community provide a road leading to an improvement in the situation and to constructive solutions. The way in which the PRC's position on most basic issues converges with these initiatives is of great benefit to the cause of peace.

Esteemed Comrade Premier Zxhao Ziyang, esteemed comrades, we have always valued the mutual respect and desire for understanding that has been present in our relations with the PRC. We will not forget the kindness and support that Chinese comrades accorded us during difficult times, including our economic needs that were met during recent years. At the same time, we would like to recall that Poland is actively involved in efforts to restore to the PRC its appropriate place in the United Nations organization. We would like to recall Poland's position on the question of Taiwan and the contribution made by Chipolbrok [joint Polish-Chinese shipping company] in surmounting the blockade and embargo imposed by imperialism. The present stage in the

favorable development of cooperation between us is characterized by a will on both sides to strengthen that which we have in common, that which brings us together. History is a good teacher. It teaches us to forget what is of minor importance, what is not worth remembering, and to preserve what is important, useful, and good.

I wish to express the conviction that the resumption of Polish-Chinese dialogue at the highest level and the decisions that have been reached will be of great significance for the fruitful development of bilateral relations in all fields, and also for cooperation in the international arena in the interest of peace, progress, and socialism.

Allow me, comrades, to propose a toast:

To friendship between the peoples of Poland and China!

To the successes of the great Chinese people in the construction of socialism!

To the health of all the Chinese comrades and friends present here!

Ganbei [Chinese term used] (cheers)!

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CSO: 2600/58

POLITICS

POLAND

SIWICKI, ROMANIAN DEFENSE MINISTERS ADDRESS RALLY

AU071924 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 3 Oct 86 pp 1, 2

[Report on speeches by Polish Defense Minister Army General Florian Siwicki and Romanian Defense Minister General Vasile Milea at the 2 October rally of friendship and brotherhood in arms at the Tadeusz Kosciuszko Officer School of Mechanized Troops in the Silesian Military District]

[Text] Having welcomed the delegation of the Romanian Ministry of Defense led by General Vasile Milea, F. Siwicki said among other things: We welcome you in this oldest school of the Polish People's Armed Forces--a forge of our commanding cadres--which was set up in Riazan in the USSR, a place that is familiar to our Romanian friends because it was there that the Tudor Vladimirescu Romanian division of volunteers began to be organized.

The roots of our friendship are anchored in the past of our peoples and in the rich traditions of national liberation struggles and revolutionary drives of the Polish and Romanian proletariat. Following the victory over German fascism--the Soviet Army played a decisive role in this victory--these struggles and drives resulted in the realization of the age-old aspirations of the Polish and Romanian working masses and in the establishment of People's Poland and the Socialist Republic of Romania. In the course of their historical development our peoples and countries have met on the same road to socialism. We have based our friendship on ideological identity and the convergence of our two countries' political aims. This is favorable to the development of cooperation in all spheres of life, including politics, economics, military affairs, culture, tourism, and so on.

F. Siwicki continued. We are deeply convinced that this meeting will make a crucial contribution to strengthening the friendship and brotherhood in arms between our armies and will be as important for the relations between our parties and peoples as was last year's meeting between General Wojciech Jaruzelski and President Nicolae Ceausescu. We regard the unceasing efforts to strengthen and develop our brotherhood in arms as the patriotic and internationalist duty of all soldierly generations, including you, young comrades in service and future officers of the Polish People's Armed Forces.

You are heirs and continuators of our allied unity, which is an invaluable achievement of your predecessors. Mindful of the glorious traditions of Polish soldiers, you should employ utmost dedication and all your knightly qualities in promoting this unity.

This is in the most profound interest of our people and the peoples of the entire socialist community, because we will be able to effectively increase our defense potential and resist the sinister plots of the imperialist forces only if we are united in the Warsaw Pact defense organization.

The basic factors in our strength are, on the one hand, the development, consolidation, and constant improvement of every socialist country's ideological-moral, economic, and defense potential and, on the other, the cohesion, united activities, cooperation, and brotherhood in arms of all the allied armies, including the Soviet Army, the might of which is of decisive importance for the defense of our political-military coalition.

Aware of their responsibility for the fates of the people and seeking to ensure peace, the PZPR and our state authorities continue invariably to follow peace policy.

However, the complicated political-military situation in the world and the threats posed by it continue to force us to maintain the necessary defense potential in line with our capabilities.

Despite the good will and peaceful efforts on the part of the socialist countries, and despite the USSR's numerous recent initiatives and activities, the international situation continues to be fraught with tension and real dangers.

Mindful of the tragic lessons of history, we continue to note keenly the unceasing expansion of NATO's West European military potential, the backbone of which is the Bundeswehr totaling some 500,000 soldiers.

It is under Bundeswehr protection and with the approval and support of the American protectors that anti-Polish revisionist forces officially continue their activities, enjoying at times active support from some government circles.

These forces' open aspirations to revise the present political-territorial order in Europe are also directed at peace on our continent.

We continue to watch keenly the development of the international situation and to note with pleasure and hope the most recent results of the Stockholm Conference on Confidence-Building Measures and Security and Disarmament in Europe. We are pleased to note that the Polish delegation has greatly contributed to the successful completion of this conference.

The socialist community countries have always been faithful to the idea of the struggle for peace and peaceful coexistence and have never ceased to promote this idea. Such is the indomitable resolve of our communist parties and our peace-loving peoples.

We train our soldiers in the spirit of internationalism and teach them respect for other peoples and their sovereignty and national achievements.

Our internationalism stems from profound patriotism and the love of the fatherland. That is why, aware of the still existing threats, we regard the defense of the people and socialist Poland as the first and most important civic duty.

Esteemed Comrade Minister and dear Romanian comrades-in-arms, since your visit here is taking place in the month in which both our armies celebrate their days, allows me to extend to the soldiers of the Army of the Socialist Republic of Romania our most cordial wishes for further achievements in their honorable duty to defend the people and to enhance our united combat strength. We send them our combat greetings and we assure them of our friendship, which continues to be cemented by the persevering and faithful soldierly service for peace and socialism, service inspired by our Marxist-Leninist parties.

Addressing the rally, General Vasile Milea cordially thanked his hosts for inviting him to the rally of friendship and brotherhood in arms in such a meritorious school of the Polish People's Armed Forces.

We are happy, he said, to be here at the invitation of Comrade General Florian Siwicki and to get directly acquainted with the life, combat and political training, and whatever the daily service of the Polish soldiers involves. What we have already seen attests to your high training achievements and to the fact that you have scored these achievements with the help of a modern base. Today's display of the skills and efficiency of this school's students, which has made a particular impression on us, is also proof of those achievements. All this is no doubt responsible for the high standards of the cadre, for ever better methods of training, for exemplary order, and for the regulation attitudes and appearance of the cadet officers. These factors are of decisive influence in developing the commanding cadres that are fully at home in the modern battlefield, in promoting the quality of their future work with their subordinates, and in fostering party and social militancy.

Congratulating the cadres and students of the Tadeusz Kosciuszko Officer School of Mechanized Troops, General Vasile Milea wished them even greater successes in every educational-training area and in the honorable work of training the future officer cadres of the Polish People's Armed Forces. Referring to the traditions and present bonds of Romanian-Polish friendship and cooperation, General Vasile Milea stressed that it was the period of socialist construction that produced an extensive and comprehensive development of this friendship and cooperation to mutual advantage.

Our visit is taking place under the banner of fruitful friendship, which links our peoples and which makes it possible to study at close quarters and to evaluate the creative efforts of the Polish working people in order to implement ambitious programs for the economic and social development of socialist Poland. Our visit also enables us to appraise your people's contribution toward strengthening the combat prowess of the Polish People's Armed Forces, modernizing military equipment, and enriching military thought.



General Vasile Milea also discussed the economic and social achievements of Romania, which this year celebrated the 65th anniversary of the RCP, and the 42d anniversary of the Revolution of 23 August 1944, which began the Romanian people's march along the road of socialist changes. General Vasile Milea also stressed the authority and the guiding ideas of the RCP, led by President Nicolae Ceausescu, its secretary general. He also stressed that the RCP treats implementation of the program for socialist construction on a par with strengthening and modernizing the defense potential of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

General Vasile Milea then pointed to the importance of Romania's comprehensive cooperation with the socialist countries, its contribution toward the coalition defense potential of the Warsaw Pact countries, and its peace and disarmament initiatives.

Referring to the coming Polish Army Day, General Vasile Milea extended to all soldiers and civilian employees of our armed forces his most cordial and fraternal wishes for productive service, for prosperity in private lives, and for whatever soldiers and their dependants need in daily discharging their most honorable duties.

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POLITICS

POLAND

DAILY CARRIES TRANSCRIPT OF URBAN PRESS CONFERENCE

AU092051 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 6 Oct 86 p 4

["Transcript" of press conference for foreign journalists given by government spokesman Jerzy Urban at the Interpress Center in Warsaw on 30 September]

[Excerpts] Boguslaw Turek, UPI--Minister, Mr Walesa has established a temporary trade union council in Gdansk. The council, which does not bear the name Solidarity, has been set up for the purpose of conducting talks with the government. Will such talks take place?

Urban: Many informal meetings of this kind have been taking place recently and I really know nothing about them, nor do I have any reason to comment on them.

Michael Kaufmann, NEW YORK TIMES--Miniter, on 22 September a Mr Majko, a Solidarity activist, died in an automobile accident. The automobile belonged to a colonel in the Ministry of Internal Affairs who, I understand, was also killed in the accident. Could you provide us with some more detailed information about the incident?

Urban: An investigation into the affairs is still in progress and it is being held under the supervision of the Regional Prosecutor's Office for Wroclaw Central District. The purpose of the investigation is to establish the causes of the tragic accident. The two persons in question were traveling in a private automobile when an unfortunate accident took place that resulted in their deaths. The vehicle collided with an oncoming "Ikarus" bus. Lieutenant-Colonel Pierscionek and Edward Majko were traveling in a "Lada." The automobile belonged to Colonel Pierscionek. So far, it has been established that the vehicle skidded on a wet surface.

Strumski, JERUSALEM POST--The meeting between the Polish and Israeli foreign ministers took place as Israeli diplomats arrived in Warsaw and Poland was making preparations to open a section representing its interests in Tel Aviv. Did the foreign ministers discuss the question of bilateral Polish-Israeli relations? And how does Poland view prospects for their development? My second question: By establishing relations with Israel does Poland intend to become involved in Middle East politics and diplomacy in general, or is it purely a question of bilateral relations with Israel?

Urban: Poland has a position on Mideast issues. Poland expresses its position and by doing so it hopes to promote a peaceful solution to Mideast conflicts. Our position is as follows: we want a peaceful settlement of Mideast conflicts based on Israel's withdrawal from the Arab territories that it has been occupying since 1967 and recognition of the Palestinian people's right to self-determination and their own state, and we believe that an international conference with the PLO's participation would provide a path leading to a settlement. These issues lie at the core of the whole question of the absence of diplomatic relations between Poland and Israel.

Relations between Poland and Israel were broken off a long time ago and they can only be restored when the main causes of the rupture are removed. These causes are not connected with bilateral Polish-Israeli affairs but with Israeli-Arab matters. Thus, overall prospects for Polish-Israeli relations are connected with prospects for a peaceful solution to Mideast issues. However, although diplomatic relations do not exist, Poland, which was the home of millions of Jews in the past, and Israel, which has a significant number of people of Polish origin among its citizens, wish to facilitate contacts of a personal, humanitarian, and cultural nature on account of the shared elements in our historical and cultural heritage. The decision to establish an office representing Polish interests in Tel Aviv is intended to serve this objective. The decision to go ahead with this scheme has already been taken. A number of minor technical matters and the question of premises has to be settled before it can be put into effect. A technical team has been or is--I am not even quite sure--at work in Poland preparing the groundwork for setting up an office to represent Israeli interests. The office is to operate from the Dutch Embassy and the head of the group was or is--I am not certain about this--an Israeli diplomat.

Guy Dinmore, REUTERS--As I am sure you know, the leaders of Solidarity met in Gdansk yesterday. They intend to issue a statement later today. If this statement takes the form of a reply to General Jaruzelski's call for dialogue within society, would it be treated as such by the government? Would the government treat it as a basis for negotiations or talks?

Urban: Speaking in this hall, I have so often explained with whom we are prepared to engage in dialogue and on what political basis that this question seems to me to be pointless.

Michael Kaufmann, NEW YORK TIMES--At the present time, following the declaration of the last amnesty and in view of the current situation, it would be interesting to know what the legal status is of organizations such as the Confederation for Independent Poland, "Peace and Freedom," and Solidarity. Are the operations of these organizations considered legal or illegal, does the use of their symbols or emblems constitute a violation of the law or not?

Urban: These organizations either do not exist or they are illegal, and the use of their emblems or attempts to resume their activities are illegal. Our legal system sets out the steps that would be taken with regard to such aims.

Jackson Diehl, WASHINGTON POST--Could you confirm whether the Krakow periodical ZYCIE LITERACKI has conducted an interview with Mr Walesa and explain why the interview was not published if it did take place?

Urban: Your question is addressed to the wrong person. You should address it to the editorial board of the publication concerned. I do not know anything about the actions of individual editorial boards. I only know about texts that have been published, if I have read them.

Guy Dinmore, REUTERS--I must apologize to those present, this might seem boring, but for the sake of accuracy and to have this matter set down and cleared up once and for all I would like to ask the following question: What precisely is the position of the government on the possibility of talks with Mr Walesa and the leaders of Solidarity?

Urban: I have already explained that my comments will not concern specific individuals, questions such as who is talking with whom or with whom talks will be held. Mr Walesa is a private individual and there is no reason why the government spokesman should treat him in a special way.

Dominique Garraud, AFP--Minister, could you inform us about the position of Wojciech Jankowski, a "Peace and Freedom" activist. Is it true that Mr Jankowski, who has been on a hunger strike since 16 September, is being force-fed?

Urban: I have no information about whether he is being force-fed. Persons who have been deprived of their freedom are only subjected to forced feeding when a physician establishes that they are actually refusing food and that this is damaging their health.

As the group of persons to which Wojciech Jankowski belongs arouses the interests of the foreign press, I would like to say that under the Constitution the defense of the fatherland is considered the duty of every citizen. In accordance with other legal provisions, refusal to perform military service is not deemed a political offense but an act directed against the PPR Armed Forces. Our penal code envisages severe penalties for refusal to perform military service. Any organizational activities undertaken to rally persons refusing to perform military service will be treated as serious attacks against our country's defense capacity and will be resolutely combatted.

Peter Johnsson, GOETEBORG POSTEN--Minister, in view of the fact that the organizations about which Michael Kaufman inquired are still illegal, would the government permit the setting up of discussion groups or associations that would include among their members persons who at present belong to the opposition? And if these persons wished to engage in any form of political activity would they have to do so within the framework of existing parties or fronts?

Urban: Public life in Poland has many forms. These include discussion clubs. I can, for example, point to the Catholic Intelligentsia Clubs. Every Polish citizen who recognizes the Constitution can engage in public life and has many opportunities to do so within the framework of existing forms, forms that are being continually enriched. Thus, there is room for development, the system is not static. It is not, therefore, a question of a lack of legal organizations or forums, but a question of the nature of the activities in which the persons you mentioned want to engage.

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POLITICS

POLAND

URBAN PRESS CONFERENCE IN WARSAW

LD071949 Warsaw PAP in English 1636 GMT 7 Oct 86

[By Jerzy Redlich and Jaroslaw Szychliński]

[Text] Warsaw, 7 October--New platforms of dialogue--there will be no agreement with those who do harm to Poland--Why is the influence of Polonia weakening in the U.S.--these were the main topics raised at the weekly conference by government press spokesman Jerzy Urban for foreign and Polish newsmen here today.

New Platforms of Dialogue

Asked to comment on the recent speech by General Czeslaw Kiszczak on new possibilities of dialogue in Poland, Minister Jerzy Urban said that the divisions in Polish society which had been essential in 1981 and partially still in 1982, were no longer topical which has been proved by public opinion polls. [sentence as received] That is why all those citizens who realistically assess the situation, irrespective of their critical attitudes towards the policy pursued by the authorities, those, who are adhering to the Constitution, should be granted broader possibilities of activity.

The spokesman added that works are underway on establishing a consultative council at the Council of State [words indistinct] from this, there are other councils, committees, and commissions at the government which are open to all critically-minded people (for instance, the Commission for the Economic Reform, the Council for Family Affairs, the Housing Commission, the Council for Food Economy, for natural environment protection, and others)--thus the possibilities of cooperation are considerable.

Asked whether one could expect new organizations and groups to emerge as a platform of dialogue, the spokesman said he did not rule out such a possibility--this will depend both on the nature and programme of such groups, he said. Answering a question about possible changes in the electoral system to representative organs in Poland, Urban said that a political will of further democratization of the electoral system had been displayed, and thus such changes could possibly take place in the future.

There Will Be No Agreement With Those Who Do Harm To Poland

Asked whether he could imagine a course of events when such people as Lech Walesa or Zbigniew Bujak could join in the activity of government institutions or ones close to the government, the spokesman said he could imagine no such possibility. Nor can the Western press, after all, he added, quoting excerpts from Western publications which show that the formation of the provisional council of "Solidarnosc" was assessed there as a challenge to the Polish authorities, pointing to a clearly confrontation nature of this initiative.

The spokesman presented and made available to journalists the materials found by the security service at the time of Bujak's arrest. These materials and letters do not include either political or ideological contents. They show that conspiracy dealt mainly with internal personal games and with the distribution of material means for underground activity--coming from the West, also indirectly from government sources. The materials also include a list of bugging devices and clubs for incapacitating people with electric current which were to come from Sweden. "Do you want anyone in Poland to believe--even in the light of these excerpts from documents--that Walesa, Bujak and others strive for sincere cooperation with the authorities of people's Poland in order to act for the benefit of Poland within the socialist system?" Urban asked.

Asked about a possibility of a few trade unions operating in one plant, Minister Urban said that he saw neither a reason nor a need for other, competitive trade unions to exist, as the ones operating now represent the interests of working people, independently of the state authorities. In the present situation various trade unions vying with each other for the level of pays and social demands would be unbearable for this country's economy.

Those speaking about trade union pluralism do not think about any trade union pluralism but about forming hostile political organizations which aim at changing the socio-political system in Poland, at changing the Polish alliances, he said.

Asked about a possibility of even small, clearly oppositional groups legally operating in Poland, Urban said that the Polish authorities together with society at large were co-responsible for the state, for the stability of this country's life and for the future of Poland and the nation. These are not values that one may play with. That is why it is not planned to permit any overt activity detrimental to this country, Urban said.

Why Does the Influence of U.S. Polonia Fade?

Asked about the attitude of Polish authorities towards the stance taken by the Polish American Congress which now wants the U.S. government to start talks to break the impasse in bilateral relations and lift the remaining sanctions, Urban said: "The multi-million mass of Polish Americans increasingly realize that attempts to weaken Poland hit out at the interests and position of the American Polonia. In the United States, those ethnic minorities count those countries of origin enjoy a strong position in the world. Besides, the Americans of Polish descent have families in Poland who have suffered in effect of the restrictions. The Polonians cannot stay indifferent to this. Changes in the stance of the Polish American Congress--which had originally

supported the anti-Polish restrictions and now wants that them to be lifted [as received] and the U.S. Government to start talks with Poland so as to normalize the relations--stem from the pressure on the part of the Polonian community ever better realizing their own interests and those of their Polish families. Thus, it is no coincidence that Polonia's role in American life has shrunk of late, that the participation of Polish Americans in the U.S. authorities is barely perceptible, and so is Polonia's influence, Urban said.

Perhaps the U.S. Polonia is realizing one more thing. Poland is the second largest country of the Warsaw Treaty and the CMEA. The good relations of Polonian organizations with Polish authorities would enable Polonia to play a serious and constructive role in the East-West relations. They could form a bridge for many processes favourable for international co-existence, which would radically alter its position in the internal life of the United States, the spokesman said.

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POLITICS

POLAND

DEFENSE MINISTRY PZPR INSTITUTIONS HOLD CONFERENCE

LD062244 Warsaw PAP in English 2220 GMT 6 Oct 86

[Text] Warsaw, 6 October--The PUWP report-electoral conference of central institutions of the Ministry of National Defence held its debates today. The conference was attended by PUWP CC Political Bureau member, Minister of Defence, General Florian Siwicki.

Much attention was paid to the international situation. It was stressed that despite favourable results achieved by the Stockholm Conference and the forthcoming talks between Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan, there still exists a real military threat to socialist countries caused by NATO's growing armaments inspired by the United States, revanchist and revisionist activities are increasing in the FRG, anti-Polish and anti-Socialist ideological subversion and intelligence operations conducted in various forms by imperialist centres continue.

The importance for Poland of comprehensive cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries was stressed with great emphasis. It was also emphasized that Poland's participation in the socialist defensive coalition, the Warsaw Treaty, is the cornerstone of Poland's security.

General Florian Siwicki referred to the current international and internal situation and stressed the importance of a full implementation of the resolution of the 10th PUWP Congress.

On behalf of PUWP CC first secretary, superior of the Armed Forces of People's Poland, General Wojciech Jaruzelski, General Siwicki expressed appreciation for activists of the ministry's central institutions for their exemplary implementation of their tasks.

The conference adopted a resolution which outlined the main directions and forms of activities of the party organization of central institutions of the Ministry of Defence in the implementation of resolutions of the 10th PUWP Congress.

Colonel Zdzislaw Jatczak was elected first secretary of the committee.

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POLITICS

POLAND

#### DIGNITARIES PARTICIPATE IN ARMY DAY EVENTS

LD110825 Warsaw PAP in English 2235 GMT 10 Oct 86

[Text] Warsaw, 10 October--Poland is celebrating the Armed Forces Day marked every year on the anniversary of the Battle of Lenino, the first battle of Polish People's Armed Forces in World War II, which Polish troops fought 43 years ago.

The main event of this year's celebrations was a gala concert here today attended by members of the PUWP CC Political Bureau and CC Secretariat General Jozef Baryla, Jan Glowczyk, Wlodzimierz Mokrzyyszczak, General Florian Siwicki, and Janusz Kubasiewicz. Soviet Ambassador to Poland Vladimir Brovikov and a delegation of the Soviet Army Northern Group led by its commander General Aleksandr Kovtunov also attended.

Head of the Chief Political Board of the Polish Armed Forces General Tadeusz Szacilo delivered an address, saying in part:

"This year's Army Day is being celebrated in a creative atmosphere brought into the Polish social life by the Tenth Congress of the PUWP (last July). Threats are being produced by continuing tension in international relations, the arms race, imperialist policy of isolation and restrictions as well as political and armed conflicts. Detente trends have a hard time working their way ahead," Szacilo said.

"The Stockholm Conference arrangements on confidence building measures in international relations have aroused widespread hopes. These hopes need to be strengthened, made credible and be given permanent guarantees," he stressed.

"Thus Poland is hopefully expecting the results of a meeting between CPSU General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev and U.S. President Ronald Reagan in Reykjavik. Peace policy of the USSR has ardent support of Polish society. Poland's foreign policy is subordinated to that most vital issue," the General said.

Speaking next, head of the political board of the Soviet Army Northern Group General Igor Titov said both countries had come to implement the decisions of the Congresses of their respective parties in a complicated international situation brought about at imperialist instigation, especially by reactionary circles in the U.S.

"Considering this, the USSR and the fraternal socialist countries regard it as their major task to prevent the arms race from becoming irreversible. Of particular importance here should be the Soviet peace initiatives presented at the 27th Congress of the CPSU and after it, as well as the Soviet nuclear test moratorium and peace initiatives launched by the fraternal socialist countries. Nevertheless, in the face of a really existing threat of an imperialist aggression, we should not forget about the strengthening of our security. This is ensured by the Warsaw Treaty," Gen Titov said.

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POLITICS

POLAND

BARYLA ADDRESSES POZNAN REPORT-BACK CONFERENCE

LD272317 Warsaw PAP in English 2050 GMT 27 Sep 86

[Text] Warsaw, 27 September--PUWP voivodship election-report conferences debated today in Lodz, Pila, Poznan, Tarnow and Tourn, defining their tasks resulting from the decisions of the 10th PUWP Congress and setting their lines of activity.

The participants analyzed experiences of the ending terms, discussed ways to effectively implement the targets set at the 10th Congress and elected new party authorities. Jozef Niewiadomski was elected first secretary of the PUWP committee in Lodz, Michal Niedzwiedz--in Pila, Edward Lukasik--in Poznan, Wladyslaw Plewniak--in Tarnow and Zenon Draminski--in Torun.

Member of Political Bureau and Secretary of the PUWP CC Jozef Baryla spoke at the Poznan conference stressing that the pre-Congress campaign and the course and essence of the 10th Congress brought visible improvement of social moods. Society received the programme and Congress resolutions with a visible hope, trusting that despite obvious difficulties, feasible chances of perceptible improvement in Poland appear.

This positive evolution of moods must be supported and consolidated, Baryla went on. And this will be possible only when the party can manifest each day that it implements consistently, precisely and effectively what was decided at its 10th Congress.

People should get convinced that the PUWP does not waste words, that it is a party of action, Baryla said. Criticism and self-criticism, opposition against the surrounding ills, shortcomings and negligence, a will to firmly counteract them--those things are necessary today just like oxygen, without them there is no progress. They give credibility to the party in the eyes of the working people with no PUWP membership.

Jozef Baryla went on to say that the PUWP assumed that the election-report conferences would broadly present new solutions, effectiveness and consistency in activity. They will show what was adopted, undertaken and fulfilled by each party cell, without avoiding difficult, often painful, issues. In the course of post-Congress work, we are going to strengthen basic party cells and their role in the communities in which they operate.

The PUWP CC secretary stressed that special attention must be given to basic party cells in organs of state administration. They must receive a higher rank and bigger requirements including their more effective influence on the functioning of authority and state administration organs.

There is also a need to boost the quality of work of various public institutions: retail sales, services, health services. The party is going to strengthen party cells in those institutions and given them concrete tasks serving their more effective functioning.

Next, Baryla pointed to the importance of economic issues. Creation of a favourable climate for the announced social consultation on the problem of "faster or slower" solution of the country's economic problems and resulting consequences is an important task for party authorities and cells, for party activists, said Baryla. National tasks resulting from attestation of work posts and labour evaluation as well as brigade organization of production should also be undertaken.

Our style of activity must be constantly improved. A general instruction on this issue was formulated by the 10th Congress, which stated that the party must be with working people every day, must listen to their opinions and nagging problems, solve with them the problems brought by everyday life, be deeply (engaged) in all problems of the country, region, community, institution and enterprise, concluded Jozef Baryla.

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POLITICS

POLAND

ORZECZOWSKI ADDRESSES LEGNICA VOIVODSHIP CONFERENCE

LD110811 Warsaw PAP in English 2214 GMT 11 Oct 86

[Text] Warsaw, 10 October--A report and election conference of the PUWP voivodship organization was held in Legnica today. The 26,000 strong party organization of the copper basin was represented at the gathering by 258 delegates. The conference was attended by member of the Political Bureau of the PUWP CC, Minister of Foreign Affairs Marian Orzechowski, Vice-Chairman of the Central Party Control and Audit Commission Jerzy Wilk and Vice-Premier Zbigniew Szalajda.

Henryk Nowak was elected first secretary of the PUWP Voivodship Committee in Legnica.

Addressing the conference Marian Orzechowski said that the Reykjavik meeting was giving rise to the hope for curbing the arms race, for paving the way for detente and cooperation.

At the current session of the United Nations the socialist states came up with a concept of universal security equal for all, a concept which contains the vision of a world free from wars, a world of advantageous cooperation of states regardless of their political systems and location, Orzechowski went on.

We are holding this conference in a situation which has witnessed the consolidation of Poland's position on the international arena. Our voice, our proposals and initiatives concerning peace are being increasingly often noticed, emphasized the minister.

The speaker referred to the visits paid by the first secretary of the PUWP Central Committee Wojciech Jaruzelski to Mongolia, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the People's Republic of China. They point, said the minister, to the role played by Poland in the community of the socialist states as the closest and strongest ally and partner of the USSR, one speaking with its own, authentic voice. They also prove that the policy of isolating Poland went bankrupt, which was corroborated by the above-mentioned session of the United Nations.

The decision of 11 September has contributed to the consolidation of Poland's position in the international arena. This decision was necessitated by

domestic needs and the logic of development after 13 December 1981, by the logic of the strategy of national agreement. At the same time this decision deprived NATO countries, especially the United States, of their most important excuse for continuing the policy of restrictions, sanctions and discrimination. It is hard to imagine that imperialism will give up its long-range plans vis-a-vis Poland, that it will cease to support anti-socialist forces. It will undoubtedly look for new forms and methods of struggle, emphasized the speaker.

Against this background, our relations with the Soviet Union and other countries of our community assume special importance. Recent years have markedly proved the weight and meaning of the Polish-Soviet alliance. They have not only confirmed the old truth that a friend in need is a friend indeed but also that we placed the guarantees of our security, of inviolability of our territory, of our national interests in the right alliances, on the right side of the politically divided world.

The transformations taking place recently in the socialist states, the steady process of renewing ideas and values of socialism give new dimensions to the truths we say about the alliance, cooperation and friendship with the USSR and other countries of the community. And ever more evident is the fact that alliance, cooperation and friendship are bilateral processes. Poland needs a mighty and strong Soviet Union while the latter needs internally stabilized Poland, vigorous and full of initiative in the international arena, said the speaker.

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POLITICS

POLAND

COMMENTATOR ASSESSES IMPACT OF AMNESTY

AU071612 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 2 Oct 86 p 5

[Kazimierz Kozniewski commentary, reprinted from ODRODZENIE, 11 September, 1986]

[Text] I saw a smile in the mirror that was standing at the roadside.  
[sentence as published] There was some concern present in the smile but it was definitely a smile all the same. What has happened is to be welcomed.

It is a good thing but--and this is what gives rise to some concern--knowing many of our activists, it may be feared that they will once again resume their ill-considered activities, if only to avoid losing face, those likeness that they have dreamed will appear on the monuments that, in their opinion, ought to be erected to them 100 years or more from now. The decision of 11 September did not meet with universal approval. That is a good thing! For a long time I have maintained, and I resolutely repeat my position: complete unanimity is a bad thing. It is very good that not everyone was pleased with this decision. And it was very good that the television news reported views that criticized this action. Not everyone is of the opinion to cause damage to our state, at a time when our state found itself in a difficult situation, a situation for which--and let's be quite honest about this--they also bore responsibility. Not everyone is of the opinion that such people can be trusted once again. There are people who are not convinced that Bujak, Michnik, Lis, Frasnauik, and others can be trusted. And, I think that these people have grounds for holding precisely such views. Only time will show who is right.

I am of a different opinion. Regardless of whether a dozen or several dozen mostly young people resume their activities or, having learned something during recent years, choose not to, this act of clemency on the part of the state constitutes not only an exceptionally significant political move, but also a humanitarian and humanistic one. This political move is not so much directed at those 200 odd people who were released from prison and investigative custody, and not even at those--and there are 3,000 of them--who ought to have been arrested but whose attention was only drawn to the nature of their activities. No, the move was not directed chiefly at them.



These nearly 3,500 girls and boys, men and women were not so much the ones toward whom the government's move was aimed.

They will not be suitable partners for any kind of serious public activity for a long time, perhaps for a very long time in certain cases. They will have to attend to themselves, their families, their work and will have to look into their own consciences and minds and rethink and carefully reassess their attitude toward the Polish state and contemporary history, both national and universal. Only then--and if it is meant to be genuine and far-reaching this is neither an easy nor a quick process--will they be able to return to public life.

No, this political move is not addressed to them. On the one hand, it is addressed to all of Polish society and, on the other, to the international political community. For this action is a very bold and, if not an unprecedented, then an extremely rare and exceptional manifestation of the best possible desire for genuine cooperation on the part of the apparatus of power, understood in the broadest sense, for cooperation with society, understood in the broadest sense. This is the clearest evidence that the Polish Government not only does not want to witness any manifestations, any elements of what could be termed domestic political conflicts. I repeat, the move is addressed to our own society and to the broad spectrum of international opinion. At this point it is not possible to fail to be drawn into reflection on the complexities or perhaps continuous elements in our history that led--through all the difficult and trying events of the years 1945-56 and the rather easier times that followed--to 13 January 1981 and 11 September 1986. It is not possible to smile with some bitter melancholy at those who once fervently supported so-called Stalinist governments and now throw mud at Poland abroad, or at those cartoonists in the Western press who in January 1982 drew caricatures of General Jaruzelski sitting astride bayonets. Goodness!

The sign given on 11 September ought to be understood correctly. Tomorrow or the day after tomorrow it will not be possible to say whether it has been understood. It will take time before we can say whether this sign on a matter of the greatest importance has been understood correctly. We will have to wait several months, until next year before we will know.

What is of great importance is that a change be effected in the climate that has existed in our society for some years now. This climate is characterized by occupational and social passivity, a turning away from the social and the national to the private. The mood is one of resignation, of resignation from broader, social ambitions in favor of private, personal activity.

I have written on this topic in LUSTRO several times and have argued that this phenomenon, this type of reaction, is in a sense something that occurs with a certain regularity in history. As a rule, serious political upheavals that have produced results that are not regarded in the same way by all of society are followed by a period of clear withdrawal. The interest in public affairs that grew so much during the previous phase suddenly declines and

large, even very large sections of society seem to retreat from the public arena, they retreat into themselves, and the private sphere, not the public one, because of the greatest importance. An important part in this is played by disappointment and dejection, and also weariness. This is something that happens frequently and this is what has happened to us.

Attitudes of this kind are very damaging for the state, for any kind of national, economic, or cultural collectivity. In issue 37 of POLITYKA Anna Przeclawska, professor of pedagogics at Warsaw University, draws attention to the negative effects that such attitudes have on the training of managerial personnel for the economy and for public life. Professor Przeclawska calls for what I have called for, on more than one occasion, in my articles concerning elite forms of education and training, for it is only training of this kind--and not training in mass organization forms--that provides real training. We should--writes Anna Przeclawska (she is deputy chairman of the PRON National Council, and PRON initiated the decision of 11 September)--consciously strive to create elites. In this case we are concerned with the most important elite, the working elite.

This kind of elite can only emerge in a society that is permeated with positive, public-spirited and energetic attitudes, a society that wants to be active. A working elite of this kind can never emerge in a society that is frustrated, passive, and dejected, a society that has retreated to the sidelines, a society that has withdrawn into itself, into private and personal matters.

I have the impression--and to certain degree I believe there is hope--that the action taken on 11 September may become one element that will contribute to a change in this unhealthy climate of social apathy. It may contribute to this in two ways. It may contribute to it directly, by putting an end to a certain mood of political restlessness. In this respect, what is important is not that 200 odd people have been released but the 3,000 conversations that have shown the extent to which the authorities know about underground structures and to the extent to which they are not interested in solutions that rely on imprisonment. The action may contribute to improving the situation indirectly, if this clear-cut expression of the Polish authorities' position leads to the resumption of normal international and economic relations and especially our relations with the West. If this happens our national economy will be strengthened.

The last years have shown how effective the Polish state's policy toward the countryside, private farmers, and agriculture has been. The constitutional amendment proved to be useful! The decision of 11 September should become a similar factor in our international, economic relations. And this, in turn, should have an effect on the domestic social climate.

From whatever angle one views the issue, this bold, (historically bold) decision on the part of the Polish Government can become a major turning-point in our country's contemporary history.

It weakens the hand of those who want state and society in Poland to be engaged in a constant struggle. And it gives encouragement to those who want to set in motion all the social forces that can work for the moral and mater good of us all, of all citizens of the Polish state. September 11, 1986--we shall see how often we shall recall that date.

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POLITICS

POLAND

WARSAW DAILY ON STEPS TO BROADEN DIALOGUE WITH PUBLIC

LD020836 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0730 GMT 2 Oct 86

[Article from the press review]

[Text] ZYCIE WARSZAWY writes about the social accord, stating that steps have been taken in Poland to broaden the dialogue and to create new democratic structures which make it possible to take part in the process of consultations on important public matters for those who until now, for various reasons, did not participate actively in public life. Listing the idea to create a consultative council at the State Council and similar bodies at the people's councils, and also institutions of spokesmen for civic rights, the paper points out that all this makes it possible for independently-thinking people who express differing views on various matters and who have a critical attitude to certain intentions or ideas of the authorities to take part in these newly-appointed organizations.

The principles of accord and dialogue with the society, the daily writes, have been recalled several times by representatives of the highest state authorities. It transpires, however, that not everyone understands these principles correctly. A small group of people, for instance, is treating the recent amnesty as yet another opportunity to restore the state of affairs that existed before December 1981, with all the dangers that this might produce. The seven-strong group in Gdansk has announced that it is establishing a commission, or a committee, whose aim is to create organizational structures conducting illegal activity--is contrary to the legal order in force in Poland. ZYCIE WARSZAWY points out the harmfulness of this activity and at the same time stresses the importance of social stabilization in Poland.

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POLITICS

POLAND

DISCUSSION TOPICS AT REPORT-BACK MEETINGS NOTED

LD220801 Warsaw PAP in English 2005 GMT 21 Sep 86

[Text] Warsaw, 21 September--Further voivodship PUWP report and election conferences debate 20 September in Biala Podlaska, Ciechanow, Leszno, Slupsk, Szczecin and in the Pomeranian military region in Bydgoszcz.

The conferences mapped out tasks stemming from decisions of the 10th PUWP Congress, on the basis of assessments and conclusions contained in reports delivered by first secretaries of the PUWP voivodship committees to sum up attainments and experiences of the last term of office, and the exchange of views lasting many hours.

In Biala Podlaska, the debaters stressed that the key task was to make a better use of cadres' professional skills. This will be served by the attestation of jobs, the preparations for which started earlier at the Biawena factory of wool industry in Biala Podlaska, thus perceiving the introduction of the economic reform.

In Ciechanow, the debaters said that while taking up the topic of the broadly conceived quality, workers sized up the PUWP not by the most correct resolutions and programmes but exactly by how the work was organized and whether it was paid for in a just way. It is high time to deal with the quality of production everywhere and for good, they said.

The conference in Leszno stressed that the economic reform has contributed to an improvement in the economic and financial situation. This does not mean, however, that all is well now. We must simply view the hitherto achievements as the beginning of the road towards a fully intensive management, it said.

Non-party members were invited to take part in the discussion at the conference in Slupsk. The notion of initiative was frequently raised by the discussants who said it counts everywhere. It should be viewed in a broad way, and not only in the scope of voluntary work. Much space in the discussion was given to the further ideological-political consolidation, the raising of the offensive spirit of basic links, and the growth of party ranks, particularly in rural areas.

Formulating the tasks ensuing from the 10th PUWP Congress, members of the SZCZECIN party organisation attached [as received] found it the party's duty

of special significance to see to a proper implementation of the principles of cadres policy. The race towards modernity, typical for the contemporary world, puts us under the obligation to stake only on such managers of socio-economic life who are capable of coping with complex requirements of management.

The Szczecin conference was addressed by Kazimierz Barcikowski who said: "We are convinced that it is time to enter more quickly the phase of tremendous work. Today, it is time for realism in approaching what we are to achieve. We should oblige ourselves to do all that has been planned," Barcikowski said.

"During the 4-5 years ahead we will have to search for additional possibilities of getting means and ways of implementing what is feasible. Obviously, according to our capacities. Nothing will be created by itself," he went on.

"Our capacities will be determined by the state of the economy. We are facing very difficult, complex tasks. The economy must be given more attention. We must at last get in touch with the world technological level. Technological progress will call for huge means and it must be given priority in the economy," Barcikowski said.

"As to the socio-political plane, we are under the necessity of persistent actions in favour of expanding the social base of people's rule, the party and its influence on society. We face the necessity to attract more people for our policy. It is not by chance that our party has formulated a thesis that we do not ask where one comes from, but what one represents and what one brings along," Barcikowski said.

"The authorities undertakes long-range, important political acts, to mention the latest clemency law. We consistently want to make it possible for those released to return to normal life. This also gives a chance to deepen the process of agreement with people of good will," Barcikowski said.

Delegates to the party conference at the Pomeranian Military District discussed how to better serve the nation, improve the political-defensive skill and combat readiness, more effectively educate the young generation, and more efficiently work.

The conference focused on defining the possibilities of making a better use of the economic and intellectual potential of the army, on constant development of inventiveness, and all that is linked with supporting society in the economy, health protection, and other fields.

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POLITICS

POLAND

OPZZ'S LUBANSKI VIEWS CURRENT TRADE UNION POSITION

PM091351 Szczecin GLOS SZCZECINSKI in Polish 24 Sep 86 p 3

[Interview with Wlodzimierz Lubanski, deputy chairman of the OPZZ (National Trade Union Accord) and chairman of the Polish Federation of Metal Workers, by KAR correspondent Jaroslaw Karczewski; date, place not given]

[Text] [Karczewski] You represent one of the numerically largest and most active national union organizations, the 293,000-strong Federation of Metal Workers. How many of your representatives will be taking part in the Second Trade Union Assembly?

[Lubanski] Our enterprise organizations have already democratically elected 71 candidates, mostly shop floor workers. They have the most to say when it comes to assessing the OPZZ's achievement in its first term of office and constructing a program for the unions. Their voices, too, will decide about the composition of the leadership bodies of the national representation.

[Karczewski] And what is your own assessment?

[Lubanski] When we compare the present situation with that in the period of the so-called college of chairmen, one thing seems indisputable to me: the organization formula adopted at Szombierki for the reborn trade unions has proved successful in practice.

[Karczewski] But there is at present a debate on the introduction of statutory changes that would modify that formula.

[Lubanski] Personally I would vote for the OPZZ to be recognized as the legal representation of the union movement in all dealings with the authorities, because the present formula of the National Accord does not guarantee such a status.

[Karczewski] This would mean strengthening the accord's authority over its member organizations.

[Lubanski] As long as our primary organizations at enterprise level are recognized as having legal personality and as long as the principles of

democratic elections are observed throughout all structures, I would not worry about that danger. It would even strengthen the position of such union representation as a partner to the authorities.

[Karczewski] Does this mean that things are not going too well with that partnership to date?

[Lubanski] I would put it this way: As regards relations with political organizations, the formula proves correct every time, but when it comes to relations with the state administration, trade unionists have many reasons to view the observance of the partnership principle very critically.

[Karczewski] For example?

[Lubanski] There are many examples. I will quote the most significant ones here. Our position on the question of collective labor agreements, or the new act on enterprise social and housing funds. These matters had been put on the agenda at the time when the college of chairmen was still in existence. Work on them took our joint government and union task groups more than 2 years. We put in a lot of very hard work to elaborate the final agreements, yet the draft agreements submitted to the Sejm by the government vary considerably from the agreed version. We are defending our stand in Sejm commissions and union members are defending it on the Socioeconomic Council.

[Karczewski] What about some positive examples?

[Lubanski] There are, of course, positive examples too, and they are of a substantial nature. Working in a true partnership we managed, for example, to update the trade unions act in line with the unionists' desires and demands, that is, to bring about a considerable strengthening of the position of the trade unions versus the administration. One can also list the fact that our voice was taken into account in the question of the current reevaluation of the so-called old portfolio age and invalidity pension benefits.

[Karczewski] It can be expected that the Second Assembly will carry out an assessment of the progress in the implementation of every single clause in the Szombierki agreement. Has everything been achieved as originally planned in the agreement?

[Lubanski] It has not been possible to make any progress in the field of housing construction. Despite the fact that we set up a special council to deal with these matters, we have actually regressed in relation to the preceding year. Also, the results of inflation are still acutely felt. Pay raises do not compensate for them, and those with low incomes are in a particularly difficult situation. Here it is imperative that the age and invalidity pension benefit act be altered. A similar situation obtains with regard to length-of-service premiums. Their present level provokes a lot of criticism.



Among other things that are important for the people I would mention the updating of the labor code currently being prepared. Many of the changes proposed there have encountered our determined opposition. The Second Assembly will have to state its position with regard to this question.

[Karczewski] The assembly also means the election of the new OPZZ authorities. Are you going to agree to stand again?

[Lubanski] We all know that holding a union office means continual wrangling with all those things which distress people, while at the same time it is hard to win acclaim because there are still many bad practices which make life difficult. My main concern is to prevent the bad practice of treating people as things, and I also want every justifiably critical voice to be heard and considered. Anyone who agrees to hold any kind of office in the trade unions must be ready to take such a stand. This is how I see it and how I try to act, and it will be up to the delegates to judge whether I have been doing a good job of it.

[Karczewski] Thank you for the interview.

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CSO: 2600/58

POLITICS

POLAND

#### CZYREK ADDRESSES KIELCE PARTY CONFERENCE

LD052300 Warsaw PAP in English 1703 GMT 5 Oct 86

[Text] Warsaw, 5 October--Addressing a conference of the party voivodship organization in Kielce yesterday, member of the Political Bureau, PUWP CC Secretary Jozef Czyrek stressed that the meeting confirmed rightness of the decision made by PUWP Central Committee to the effect that the report and election campaign should start from the 10th Party Congress since this favoured the strengthening of ideological and political unity of the party and commitment of party organizations on the basis of the PUWP programme adopted by the Congress.

At every stage of party activity, life and political conditions suggest certain priorities, Czyrek said. At the present stage, such a priority is the necessity to deal with the problems of socio-economic development of Poland. This is not just because the political stability has been achieved. The solving of socio-economic questions is a fundamental issue since without it it is not possible to achieve further political stabilization.

That is why the 10th PUWP Congress put to the fore the tasks of socio-economic development of Poland and adopted a course for accelerating this country's development in all fields.

The hitherto post-Congress discussion, Czyrek went on, continues to focus on what we want to achieve, with lesser attention being paid to the ways, methods and instruments which should be used to gain our goals.

The assumptions of the PUWP Programme won considerable support from the society, Czyrek continued. This was expressed in the course of the discussion during the preparations for the 10th Party Congress. At present, we should concentrate on how to implement those assumptions. This would be favoured by the intensifying economic education within the party.

An important task is to work out more efficient methods of party activity. The present situation is special, marked by the phenomenon of re-activation of political opponents. They strive to halt those processes which the party wants to intensify after the 10th Congress, and to block the process of agreement.

That is why, seeing the priority of activities for socio-economic development of Poland, the party should constantly see problems of political struggle and the activity in favour of agreement. Those forces which expect the replay of the 1980-1981 situation err, are in the wrong.

In conclusion, Jozef Czyrek stressed that the tasks mapped out by the Congress can and will be solved.

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CSO: 2020/14

POLITICS

POLAND

WOZNIAK AT NATIONAL WOMEN'S LEAGUE CONGRESS

LD130535 Warsaw PAP in English 2158 GMT 12 Oct 86

[Text] Warsaw, 12 October--The 9th National Congress of the Polish Women's League (LKP), an organization with over half a million women members, started its debates here today with the participation of about 400 women delegates. PUWP CC Political Bureau member and CC Secretary Marian Owzniak and Vice-Premier Zbigniew Gertych were the Congress guests.

The work of the organization (LKP) in the difficult years of building national agreement was presented in a report-and-programmatic paper delivered by LKP Chairwoman and Sejm Deputy Speaker Jadwiga Biedrzycka and during discussion.

The LKP got strengthened not only in terms of numbers. It also came out for socialist renewal, maintaining order in Poland and for building national agreement. The LKP marked its active presence in many moments important for Poland: It took part in setting up committees for national agreement, in the elections to People's Councils and the Sejm, and in creative discussion prior to the 10th PUWP Congress.

PUWP CC Political Bureau woman member Zofia Stepien presented the party's assessment of the LKP's work. She stressed that the PUWP highly appreciated the activity of the organization as the authorities' ally in implementing socially important goals. Women's commitment, sensitivity and critical viewpoint influence the making of decisions aimed to improve everyday life in Poland. She also emphasized that the party expected the LKP to continue splendid traditions this organization had worked out during 40 years of its operation.

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CSO: 2020/14

POLITICS

POLAND

STATE AGENCY ABUSES VIDEO SHOWS

AU081314 Warsaw KULTURA in Polish No 15, 24 Sep 86 p 15

[Under the rubric "Letters to the Editor": "War of Information"]

[Text] Having read with great interest the second installment of the KULTURA article "Information War--New Technologies," which was written by Professor Leslaw Wojtasik, a brilliant expert in the subject, I wish to make the following observations:

1. It is worth noting that it is not only private individuals who use video cassettes (we should write "wideo" because our language has no "v"). It is unfortunate that many clubs in housing developments, plants, and similar institutions organize paid shows of video movies, most of which have not been approved for showing and some of which smack of pornography and even of more or less pronounced anticommunism. In addition, these shows impudently violate the law, beginning with the copyright law and fiscal regulations, on through the censorship and cinema laws. Such shows are preceded by public advertisements and posters that are displayed on official billboards in housing settlements!
2. At times, it pays to visit an "amusement park" or mobile or stationary facility for electronic games. There are many such facilities in our streets. Although I have still not seen "The Attack on Moscow," I saw a game during which the player "lands" a U.S. plane in a jungle and, in order to score as many points as possible, must kill dozens and dozens of little yellow individuals wearing navy blue uniforms. He does this killing with missiles, gas, and so on. I also saw the game called "Green Berets," during which a subversive paratrooper operates in some hostile air base, kills the defenders with his machine gun, and destroys their planes. The defenders wear uniforms with some vague red badges, which are also painted on the planes... It is a fact that these red badges are not in the shape of stars, but everyone can guess what they really mean. These "amusement parks" and "facilities" are owned by the state agency called the Association of Entertainment Enterprises.
3. Professor Wojtasik writes: "The adversary has regrouped his forces and resources, has improved his action methods, and has launched stronger attacks. This is why it is of crucial practical significance to understand the mechanism of the information war," Wise words, even though what we have been confronted

with is still not some infernal center that runs all these shows, but only producers of video cassettes and computer games who do good business, taking fat advantage of the mentality of primitive people. Of course, this does not change the fact that the educational and propaganda impact of this production can be and is atrocious. But the question is: Why do we facilitate such activities? Why is it that no one controls the activities of the Association of Entertainment Enterprises, of the various clubs, organizations, and so on? After all, it is a fact that someone must have bought those electronic games with state money. Why is it that no pedagogues checked on the contents of these games? Are such checks stipulated by the law? If not, then why not? It is not easy to control private imports of computer programs and video cassettes, but the public activities of state, cooperative, and other organizations are an entirely different proposition.

Professor Wojtasik's article treats of the "information war." [as published] What kind of "war" is it, when it involves only aggressors and no defenders? What kind of "war" is it, when for the sake of profit (the Association of Entertainment Enterprises charges children as much as Z20 for a few minutes of electronic games) those who are attacked invite their attackers to the very heart of their defenses?

I do not know who should take care of all these things. Perhaps the Ministry of Culture? Perhaps the Ministry of Education and Upbringing? But I know one thing: This state of affairs must not be allowed to continue. We must have the necessary legislation and resolute action.

However, I am afraid that the whole issue will come to an end after a few articles have been published in some periodicals. The subject is very attractive. All this reminds me of the joke about an opera chorus that, having waited for half an hour on stage, begins to sing: "Let us flee, let us flee!" Signed: Bogdan Mis, Warsaw

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CSO: 2600/58

POLITICS

POLAND

NUCLEAR PLANT SAFETY DISCUSSED

LD012133 Warsaw PAP in English 1721 GMT 1 Oct 86

[By Tadeusz Jacewicz]

[Text] Vienna, 1 October--"Both for Poland and the world there is no retreat from nuclear power industry," but "one can be sure that Poland's first nuclear power plant in Zarnowiec will have all installations to protect it against reactor breakdown, and they will meet all the strictest safety standards," Poland's government plenipotentiary for the development of nuclear power industry told PAP. Minister Jerzy Bijak stressed that an additional analysis of the system of safeguards for the Zarnowiec project is underway and conclusions stemming from it will be fully applied." [end quotation mark as received]

"Reactors for the Polish power plant are highly advanced units, marked by tested safety properties and an excellent performance record. Now we already now it was man that failed in Chernobyl, and we will pay special attention to this question in Zarnowiec. Now we are again analysing the plant's safety system in a detailed way and expectedly some improvements stemming from the latest experiences and experts' opinions will be introduced. This applies particularly to fire safeguards. Conclusions from these analyses will be presented to the government presidium next month and appropriate decisions will be made," Jerzy Bijak said.

"The safety concepts for Zarnowiec are unquestionable and correct," Bijak declared. "Poland's first nuclear power plant will be a project using the latest advances in safeguards technology, including systems to further reduce the possibility of an error or an erroneous decision by man.

"We must make Poles aware that nuclear power industry is 100 times less burdensome for environmental than thermal one. It is true that potential threats are greater and that is why we do our best to reduce even the smallest chance of a breakdown, both as regards technology and personnel."

"Poland has reached a technological barrier in hard coal mining. We will hardly maintain the annual output of somewhat below 200 million tonnes. Similar barriers have occurred in lignite mining: the highest extraction level amounts to 80 million tonnes annually," the government plenipotentiary for the development of nuclear power industry said.

POLITICS

POLAND

CATHOLIC WEEKLY PRAISES RYDER FOUNDATION

AU101548 Warsaw PRZEGLAD KATOLICKI in Polish No 40, 5 Oct 86 p 3

[Bohdan Rudnicki article: "The Lady of Warsaw"]

[Excerpts] Lady Ryder has been visiting Poland, which she loves, almost every year for nearly 30 years now. She has done this because her heart, her conscience, and her sense of moral duty have enjoined her to continue her charitable work, the blessed results of which continue to be felt by dozens of thousands of our countrymen under her care. But our mass media is still unaware of her work. They ignored her even when on several occasions she was awarded Polish state decorations and when the PPR authorities expressed their unprecedented consent that this English (angielska) lady, who became a member of the British House of Lords not so long ago, may adopt the name of "The Lady of Warsaw."

The mass of our countrymen do not know Lady Ryder, although eight years ago PAX published a translation of her autobiography "Tomorrow Belongs to Them," which is full of affection for Poland and Poles. The second volume, entitled "Child of My Life," will be published soon in England and the cover will bear the likeness of Our Lady of Ostrobrama. This volume is devoted to the development of the Sue Ryder Foundation in Poland and the world.

During the war Sue Ryder served in the First Aid Nursing Yeomanry and then in the Special Operations Executive. When serving at the RAF stations from which the RAF planes flown by Polish crews ferried Polish agents to Poland, she developed many strong friendships with Polish airmen, some of whom are still alive and in touch with her.

Because of her wartime experience, she decided to do charitable work and in 1951 she launched her charitable foundation at her own initiative. Her main purpose was to locate and help former secret agents and members of the resistance movement everywhere, especially in the central and East European countries that had been most ravaged by the war.

In various parts of our country 32 Sue Ryder Homes have been established, and each of them houses about 50 bedridden patients. Another 18 homes are to be established. The Sue Ryder Foundation has also taken care of various Polish hospital and social care facilities. To describe all the projects run



by the foundation and all its charitable activities would take a thick book, a necessary undertaking to give full justice to Lady Ryder's work, about which she is very modest. If I regrettably choose not to mention the 29 typically Polish homes for gravely handicapped people and the orphanage for over 49 retarded children, I could not help making it known that Lady Ryder also maintains two homes in Konstancin near Warsaw, in which 57 girls and young women suffering from almost incurably rheumatic joints are being looked after in every possible way, including training for life when cured. This petite and slender woman, who is always full of energy, who is a mother of two children, and who lives like an ascetic despite the riches she is in charge of, is, like her husband Leonard Cheshire of wartime RAF fame, a very devout Catholic.

I write about the "Lady of Warsaw" not only because this summer I followed in the footsteps of her work in Poland, but also because my personal wartime and postwar experiences make it possible for me to comprehend very well her intentions, attitude, and achievements. I am sure that some of the secret agents dropped into Poland during the war and some of those who sheltered them were able to benefit from Lady Ryder's still stubbornly continued activities to erect a "living monument" to the forgotten World War II heroes.

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CSO: 2600/58

POLITICS

POLAND

BRIEFS

MICHALEK AT PZPR SUWALKI MEETING--Warsaw, 14 October--A report and election conference of the PUWP voivodship organization in Suwalki was held today with the participation of 235 delegates representing the 23,000 party members in the region. The conference was attended by Zbigniew Michalek, alternate Political Bureau member and secretary of the PUWP CC. A new voivodship committee and voivodship control-audit commission were elected. Waldemar Berdyga was elected first secretary of the PUWP voivodship committee in Suwalki. Also today, a report and election conference was held by the PUWP voivodship organization in Sieradz, with PUWP CC secretary Andrzej Wasilewski taking part. The conference elected a new PUWP voivodship committee and a new voivodship control-audit commission. Janusz Urbaniak was elected first secretary of the PUWP voivodship committee in Sieradz. [Text] [WARSAW PAP in English 0646 GMT 15 Oct 86 LD] /12913

NEW VOIVODSHIP FIRST SECRETARIES--Warsaw, 12 October--Here are new first secretaries of PUWP Voivodship Committees elected at Saturday's PUWP Voivodship report and election conferences: Czestochowa: Jerzy Sypek, Olsztyn: Tadeusz Jelski, Opole: Eugeniusz Mroz, Piotrkow Trybunalski: Stanislaw Kolasa, Przemyśl: Zenon Czech, Rzeszow: Franciszek Karp, Tarnobrzeg: Janusz Basiak, Warsaw: Janusz Kubasiewicz. [Text] [Warsaw PAP in English 2002 GMT 12 Oct 86 LD] /12913

MOKRZYSZCZAK ADDRESSES CONFERENCE--Warsaw, 13 October--A PUWP report and election voivodship conference was held in Radom (east of Warsaw) today with its main theme being the need for initiative, enterprise, intellectual effort, creative criticism and consistent activity in materializing the resolutions of the 10th PUWP Conference. Addressing the conference, member of the PUWP CC Political Bureau, chairman of the Central Control and Audit Commission Wlodzimierz Mokrzyaszczak said that the strength of the party is being assessed by the effects of its members' activity. The bigger they are, the higher is reliability and authority of the party within individual socio-professional circles and the entire society. The successful implementation of the PUWP policy depends on the activity of the Basic Party Organizations (POP), their style of work, openness and ties with community. Today, this is one of the most important issues. Preparatory work is being undertaken for the CC plenary meeting which would comprehensively review all the problems of activity of the party's lowest links, he said. The recent years have brought about a rise in the standard of work of the party organizations. Their discipline is more visible, their activity is more effective, and authorities

at different levels, basic organizations and party group show more efficient work, Mokrzyszczak said. The conference reelected Bogdan Prus first secretary of the PUWP voivodship committee in Radom. [Text] [Warsaw PAP in English 2127 GMT 13 Oct 86 LD] /12913

HONECKER GREETES JARUZELSKI--Warsaw, 17 October--General secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party, chairman of the Council of State of GDR Erich Honecker sent a cable today to PUWP CC first secretary, president of the Council of State Wojciech Jaruzelski from aboard a plane flying over the territory of People's Poland. The message reads: While going on an official, friendly visit to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, to the People's Republic of China and to the Mongolian People's Republic, I convey to you and to all citizens of the Polish People's Republic fraternal greetings. We will do everything that we can in the future to further expand traditional fraternal relations between the German Democratic Republic and the Polish People's Republic in the interest of comprehensive strengthening of socialism and securing peace. [Text] [Warsaw PAP in English 2001 GMT 17 Oct 86 LD] /12913

DENIAL OF URBAN STATEMENT REVOKED--London, Bonn, 8 October--To start with, Radio Free Europe denied with indignation last Tuesday's statement by Polish Government Spokesman Jerzy Urban who said that RFE Director Zdzislaw Najder was an advisor to Jerzy Milewski, the Western-based representative of Polish underground, but it afterwards revoked its denial to announce that "it has never made it a secret" that Najder gives advice to Milewski. Jerzy Urban told his weekly conference Tuesday that documents found in the secret archives of the Provisional Coordinating Commission (TKK) show that Milewski considers Lech Walesa and Zbigniew Bujak as his bosses and the two in turn regard him as their representative in the West. The TKK documents also show that Milewski does take Najder's advice. And so, Urban said, the documents reveal direct organizational links between the provocative, anti-Polish Radio Free Europe, the TKK, and Lech Walesa. RFE representative Robert Redlich said Tuesday night that Najder was not Milewski's advisor and added: "This charge is ridiculous." However, an hour later, a higher-ranking RFE representative Gregory Wierzynski phoned the London office of the UPI agency which relayed Redlich's denial. It explained that Redlich "made a slip of the tongue" and it assured that the RFE had "never made it a secret" that Najder was Milewski's advisor. ["Confusion in Radio Free Europe"--PAP headline] [Text] [Warsaw PAP in English 1904 GMT 8 Oct 86 LD] /12913

MESSNER MEETS ENVOY TO IRAQ--Warsaw, 17 October--Polish Prime Minister Zbigniew Messner received here today newly nominated Polish ambassador to the Republic of Iraq Witold Jurasz. [Text] [Warsaw PAP in English 1928 GMT 17 Oct 86 LD] /12913

RWANDAN, ANGOLAN AMBASSADORS' CREDENTIALS--Warsaw, 17 September--Vice-President of the Council of State Kazimierz Barcikowski received here today Ambassador of the Rwandan Republic to Poland Laurent Kanyarubira who presented the letters of credence. The Rwandan ambassador was also received by Kazimierz Barcikowski in a private audience. [Text] [Warsaw PAP in English 1958 GMT 17 Sep 86 LD] /12913

BARCIKOWSKI RECEIVES DE CARVALHO--Vice-President of the Council of State Kazimierz Barcikowski received here today Ambassador of the Angolan People's Republic to Poland Agostinho Andre Mendez de Carvalho who presented his credentials. Next, the Angolan Ambassador was received by Vice-President Barcikowski in a private audience. [Text] [Warsaw PAP in English 1957 GMT 17 Sep 86 LD] /12913

NETHERLANDS CULTURAL AGREEMENT--THE HAGUE, 12 September--A programme of the implementation of the cultural agreement between Polish and Dutch Governments for the years 1987-1989 was signed here today. The programme provides for cooperation between academies of sciences of the two states, the implementation of joint scientific and research work and exchange of scientists. It also envisages an exchange of cultural events. [Text] [Warsaw PAP in English 2105 GMT 12 Sep 86 LD] /12913

ENVOY TO ZIMBABWE NAMED--Warsaw, 3 October--The Council of State appointed Mirosław Dackiewicz to the post of Poland's ambassador to the Republic of Zimbabwe. Mirosław Dackiewicz was born in Warsaw in 1950 to an intelligentsia family. In 1973 he graduated from the faculty of law of the Warsaw University. Since 1977 he has worked in the PUWP Central Committee where he was appointed deputy head of the Foreign Department in 1982. [Text] [Warsaw PAP in English 1756 GMT 3 Oct 86 LD] /12913

ORZECZOWSKI'S ACTIVITIES NOTED--New York, 4 October--Poland's Foreign Minister Marian Orzechowski, now staying here, met members of the U.S. Council for International Relations. During the meeting, Minister Orzechowski delivered a lecture "Today's Poland" and answered many questions about the Polish home and foreign policy. Minister Orzechowski also met Foreign Minister of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen 'Abd al-'Aziz al-Dali to discuss relations between both states. The two ministers stated with satisfaction good state of these relations, voicing their desire to further develop them. [sentence as received] Minister 'Abd al-'Aziz al-Dali told Orzechowski about the advancing process of stability of the home situation in his country. [Text] [Warsaw PAP in English 2011 GMT 4 Oct 86 LD] /12913

FOREIGN MINISTRY OFFICIAL IN CANADA--New York, 8 October--Political consultations between Polish and Canadian Foreign Ministries were held in Ottawa with the Polish side headed by Undersecretary of State in the Ministry Jan Kinast and the Canadian by Deputy Minister of External Affairs J. Stanford. During business-like and constructive talks, the sides discussed bilateral relations and exchanged views on the present international situation and prospects of its development, especially world disarmament and security issues. Jan Kinast was also received by Secretary of State for External Affairs Joseph Clark, held talks with First Deputy Minister of External Affairs J. Taylor, met with members of Parliament and with officials of the Canadian Ministry of Finances and participated in a meeting in the Canadian Institute of International relations where he delivered a lecture on Polish foreign policy and replied to numerous questions concerning Poland's socio-economic situation. Jan Kinast is also to visit Toronto for talks and meetings. [By PAP correspondent Ludwik Arendt] [Text] [Warsaw PAP in English 2019 GMT 8 Oct 86 LD] /12913

MEETINGS IN NEW YORK CITED--New York, 3 October--Polish Foreign Minister Marian Orzechowski met here with David Rockefeller, a known economic and social activist in the U.S. The lengthy talk focused on the development of socio-political situation in Poland, Polish-American relations and some aspects of economic cooperation. Orzechowski also met with the managers of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL and the Dow Jones and company concern. In an open and direct talk he discussed some aspects of Poland's home and foreign policy and the Polish-American relations, as well as answered many questions. The Polish foreign minister also held a meeting with Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek at which both ministers exchanged views on Polish-Czechoslovak relations and international issues. They stressed with satisfaction the quickly developing bilateral cooperation and joint activity in the international forum. During Minister Orzechowski's meeting with Foreign Minister of Haiti Jean-Baptiste Hilaire, both government's will was expressed to develop cooperation and active dialogue at a high level. [By PAP correspondent Ludwik Arendt] [Text] [Warsaw PAP in English 1946 GMT 3 Oct 86 LD] /12913

MESSNER ON REYKJAVIK--Moscow, 16 October--The Soviet TV broadcast today an interview with Polish Premier Zbigniew Messner who said, among other things, that the chance to achieve a progress in the field of disarmament--which had been created by the Reykjavik meeting--was, unfortunately, wasted by the American government. "Taking into account Mikhail Gorbachev's press conference and his speech delivered on the Soviet TV, I think that the Soviet-American negotiations will be carried on," Premier Messner stressed and went on to say that hopes for disarmament continued to exist. "This is how we assessed the Reykjavik meeting in the course of the talks with Soviet Premier Nikolay Ryzhkov during his stay in Warsaw," the Premier said. [Text] [Warsaw PAP in English 0653 GMT 17 Oct 86 LD] /12913

HUNGARIAN JUSTICE MINISTER VISITS--Imre Markoj, Hungarian Minister of Justice, visited Poland on 16-18 September for talks with Justice Minister Lech Domeracki on mutual cooperation and on preparations for next year's Budapest conference of socialist justice ministers. He was received by Central Committee Secretary Stanislaw Ciosek. [Summary] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in English 19 Sep 86 p 2 AU] /12913

REPORT ON REYKAVIK MEETING--Warsaw, 11 October--The party Daily TRYBUNA LUDU today brings a report from Reykjavik on the Gorbachev-Reagan meeting beginning there today. Excerpts: The Soviet Union seeks to give its political dialogue with the United States an additional characteristic of highest importance--turn it into a disarmament dialogue, one of not only political, but also military detente. Here in Reykjavik, this weekend of the great two is not expected to bring about any major breakthrough in that respect. Expectations are rather of progress in preparations for the proper summit between both leaders in Washington. Only then can one expect a hope-giving agreement. The first prognostic will be the date of that summit. In the military debate, the world is at a standstill, or more precisely, paradoxically, it is moving ahead instead of going back--back from greater arsenals to lesser, on both sides. This is not progress in the "spirit of Geneva." That is why the essential question, so to speak, hovering over Reykjavik is how long it will take after the present meeting for Gorbachev's pressure on the idea of reversing the

armaments spiral and saving space from them to be followed by a truly constructive and realistic approach on the part of America's leaders. In short, when will Washington agree to join Moscow to jointly start on the anti-armaments brake. [From the Press Review] [Text] [Warsaw PAP in English 2258 GMT 10 Oct 86 LD] /12913

'STAR WARS' SEEN AS STUMBLING BLOCK--Warsaw, 12 October--The leaders of the Soviet Union and the United States today ended their working meeting in the Icelandic capital of Reykjavik, halfway between Moscow and Washington. World opinion knows that the meeting had taken place at the initiative of the Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev concerned over the more and more evident stalemate in the Soviet-American nuclear and space arms control talks. Although the USSR came to the talks with an offer of "historic significance" on strategic and medium-range weapons, the meeting has failed to produce the so much awaited framework agreement on major issues covered by the superpower arms control dialogue. The U.S. has pushed the whole disarmament issue into a dead end. Prospects of a Washington summit, and an agreement which the whole world hoped would be signed there, have moved indefinitely into future in what has come as vast disappointment. The stumbling block has been Reagan's "Star Wars." [By Andrzej Rayzacher] [Text] [Warsaw PAP in English 2210 GMT 12 Oct 86 LD] /12913

DAILY COMMENTS ON REYKAVIK--Warsaw, 13 October--Writing about the Reykjavik meeting ZYCIE WARSZAWY today noted that the international public opinion must be gravely concerned over the superpower leaders failing to reach agreement, and that it must draw conclusions from facts which "prove that Reagan's more flexible approach to the Soviet proposals could have led to a compromise." "One should, however, cherish the hope--and this has been confirmed by the announcement to continue the Soviet-American negotiations in Geneva--that Reykjavik will not stop the process of seeking new roads towards giving up armaments. The superpower dialogue on issues most vital for the world, that is freeing it from the peril of a nuclear annihilation, is necessary anyway. No dialogue at so high a level is utterly futile. It must have been accompanied by the sense of responsibility for the destinies of mankind and of peace. And it was with this sense in mind that Mikhail Gorbachev warned that the world is now approaching the point of no return in case the superpower talks in Geneva continued to remain in a total stalemate," the paper wrote. "Reykjavik has not become a positive impulse for a turn for the better although it failed the hopes pinned on the summit--it after all cannot be the last stage of the dialogue. Just in the name of the interests of mankind at large," it argued. [Text] [Warsaw PAP in English 0931 GMT 13 Oct 86 LD] /12913

DANGERS OF NUCLEAR WAR--Warsaw, 10 October--A conference attended by Polish physicians and guests from abroad started in Katowice today, dealing with how to prevent a nuclear war. The gathering will discuss dangers for humanity posed by a nuclear war in medical, psychological, social and ecological aspects. The conference has been organized by the Polish Medical Society which is a member of the international movement of physicians striving for prevention of a nuclear war. [Text] [Warsaw PAP in English 2249 GMT 11 Oct 86 LD] /12913

GLOWCZYK ADDRESSES AWARD WINNERS--Warsaw, 9 October--Chosen from more than 1,800 candidates proposed in letters to the PUWP daily TRYBUNA LUDU, winners of its annual awards accepted them at a ceremony at the newspaper's building in Warsaw today. The laureates of the altogether five categories of individual and group awards represent various walks of life and interests, including writers, artists, scientists, teachers and pedagogues, as well as social activists or people working for residents' committees in housing districts. They include the authors of a first volume of the "History of the Polish Working-Class Movement," Marek Kotanski, who has founded and heads "Monar," a popular movement dedicated to anti-drug campaigning and helping addicts get out of drugs, singer Edyta Geppert, and film director Radoslaw Piwowarski. Those distinguished by this year's TRYBUNA LUDU awards, through their activity and capability to live in society have manifested various ways of social work, and are the ones who create social bonds, PUWP CC Political Bureau member and CC Secretary Jan Glowczyk told the laureates. Through their work, they become an example for others and fully deserve the name of 'homo politicus'--the social man, he said. [Text] [Warsaw PAP in English 2205 GMT 9 Oct 86 LD] /12913

PRC JUSTICE DELEGATION VISITS--A delegation of the Ministry of Justice of the People's Republic of China led by Minister of Justice Zou Yu is staying at the Gdansk coastal region between 12 and 14 October. This is the first official visit in Poland by representatives of the Chinese administration of justice, and also in East European states. During the three-day stay the guests acquaint themselves with work, achievements and problems of the Gdansk judiciary. [Text] [Gdansk Domestic Service in Polish 0600 GMT 13 Oct 86 LD] /9738

SEJM DELEGATION IN FINLAND--The PPR Sejm delegation in Finland headed by Sejm Marshal Roman Malinowski held important political talks on the second day of the visit. R. Malinowski was received by Finnish President Mauno Koivisto; during their talk it was noted that both sides hold identical or similar stances concerning peaceful cooperation in Europe and the world. During a meeting with Erkki Pystyn, speaker of the Finnish parliament, R. Malinowski affirmed that Poland is open to broad interparliamentary cooperation with Finland. R. Malinowski also recalled W. Jaruzelski's proposal to host a CSCE conference in Warsaw on the 50th anniversary of the Nazi invasion of Poland. [Summary] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 8 Oct 86 p 7 AU] /9738

SATELLITE TELEVISION EXHIBITION--"It is impossible that this program should come live from America. It is certainly being reproduced from a video cassette. This perfect image quality is tell-tale evidence of a cassette. They are swindling us in some way. Perhaps this program is coming from the Palace of Culture? They have such large aerials on top of its tower...." There were many attractive exhibits to be seen in the Parade Square during the 2-day festival of the SD's press and publications. Since the slogan of this festival was "Everything for Everyone," one could listen to live concerts, eat under canvas, exchange antiques and other curiosities, and stand in line for dozens and dozens of trading kiosks. However, one of the greatest attractions was an exhibition of satellite television, the second after the Poznan trade fair. The stand of the Svensat firm, which is owned by Zdzislaw Zniewicz from Szczecin, was beleaguered by a crowd of gaping people, who watched five television sets placed in a small bus, on the roof of which satellite television aerials were mounted. The crowd watched television programs from the United States, Luxembourg, France, and the USSR. [Excerpts] [Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODCYH in Polish 29 Sep 86 p 2 AU] /9738

PRON BRIEFED ON JARUZELSKI MEETING--Jan Dobraczynski briefed the Executive Committee Presidium of the PRON National Council on the course of his meeting with Wojciech Jaruzelski, during which the movement's role in stabilizing the sociopolitical situation and shaping the climate of society's activity was emphasized. The Presidium discussed the preliminary concept of the report-back and electoral campaign. The Presidium also acquainted itself with conclusions arising from this year's summer action involving young people. [Text] [Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 9 Oct 86 LD] /9738

NEW ZYCIE WARSZAWY EDITOR--Leszek Gontarski has been appointed editor in chief of the ZYCIE WARSZAWY. Zdizislaw Morawski, the previous head of the popular Warsaw daily, will now become the paper's foreign correspondent. Jan Glowczyk conveyed words of thanks for his work and wished the new editor in chief success. [Text] [Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 3 Oct 86 LD] /9738

NEW PUBLICATIONS CHIEF EDITORS--Changes have been made in the chief editor posts of INTERPRES, KULTURA, and LITERATURA. Jan Grzelak has become director and chief editor of INTERPRES; thus far he was deputy chairman of the committee for radio and television. The director of INTERPRES Stanislaw Globinski has passed on to work in PAP. The post of chief editor of the weekly KULTURA has been taken by Professor Witold Nawrocki, who at the same time keeps the post of director of the Literary Research Institute of the Polish Academy of Sciences. Recently, Witold Nawrocki headed the Culture Department of the Party Central Committee. Klemens Krzyzagorski, to date chief editor of KULTURA, has been offered the position of editor of LITERATURA monthly. [Text] [Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1900 GMT 7 Oct 86 LD] /9738

REAGAN ADMITS 'OBSTINACY' AT REYKJAVIK--Last night President Reagan appeared on U.S. television. Here is a report from Grzegorz Wozniak: [Begin recording] In a 20-minute radio and television speech President Reagan admitted that an unprecedented chance to halt the arms race had occurred in Reykjavik, but he also confirmed that the agreement broke down because of his own obstinacy. Not so much rationalizing as trying to justify his stance the president, in a manner of defying credibility, concluded that Reykjavik, had, nevertheless, been a success and that the road to accord remains open. [end recording] [Text] [Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 14 Oct 86 LD] /9738

CSO: 2600/58



POLITICS

ROMANIA

RCP POLICY FAVORING INDEPENDENCE OVER MONOLITHIC SOCIALIST DETAILED

Cluj-Napoca STEAUA in Romanian No 5, 1986 pp 4-6

[Article by University Lecturer Dr Ioan Chisu: "The RCP Activity for a New Unity in the International Communist and Working-Class Movement"]

[Text] The over 135-year history of the international working-class and communist movement shows that the forms of unity and solidarity have evolved in accordance with the historical stages covered, with the degree of ideological, political, and organizational maturity of the detachments of the working class in various countries, and with their internal and international tasks. The international forms of organization and solidarity of the working class prevailed in the movement's early stages, taking forms like the League of Communists or the First International, but later, in the last quarter of the past century, after the creation of the socialist and social democratic parties and of the revolutionary parties in various capitalist countries, the forms of international unity and solidarity became more varied, more flexible, the accent falling on the own activity of the national detachments, of the parties themselves. Thus, the Second International did not even pretend to dictate to the working class in various countries the choice of one way or another or even to "give advice" on conduct to the working class in various countries--as Marx stated. In fact, it was not even an organization proper, but was materialized in a number of congresses of the socialist parties, constituting a framework for discussion and sharing of experience on the theoretical and practical problems of the movement.<sup>1</sup> "The International," Engels wrote in the last years of his life, "no longer requires organization in the strict sense of the word: It lives and is growing stronger due to the sincere collaboration of the workers in Europe and America that is developing naturally."<sup>2</sup>

After the creation of the communist parties in various countries in the years of revolutionary enthusiasm after World War I, for reasons connected with the lack of maturity of these parties, with the necessity of guiding them and organizing the struggle against rightwing opportunism, etc., the Third, Communist International (Comintern), with headquarters in Moscow, was created. The experience of a few decades of this form of monolithic international unity and solidarity, of a true "world party," was as contradictory as could be, with its activity's negative aspects prevailing. The excessive centralism, the fact that the communist parties were considered subordinate sections of the Comintern, that judgments, decisions, and strategic and tactical slogans not

corresponding to the historical and national realities in the respective countries were imposed obligatorily on them from outside, that ruthless interference in internal affairs and imposition even by leaders of the Comintern's activists, who did not know the history, language, and realities in these countries, were practiced, and that the parties and leaders of parties that did not agree with such hegemonic, dogmatic practices alien to the true revolutionary principles had to endure much--all these things seriously prejudiced the activity of the communist parties, infringing on their anchoring in national soil, and the creative application and development of scientific socialism in accordance with the extremely diverse conditions from country to country. In fact, such practices also caused the abolition of the Comintern in 1943, but unfortunately, they still continued in various forms and intensities later, too, in the Information Bureau and, even after its abolition in 1956, within the International Conferences of the Communist and Workers Parties in 1957 and 1960, and even afterward.

The period of the final 2-3 postwar decades was characterized by strong numerical and qualitative growth of the international communist and working-class movement. The growth of the ideological, political, and organizational maturity of the communist parties had as a consequence the almost total repudiation of the monolithic forms based on a ruling center for international unity and solidarity that had inspired such detestable practices. The contemporary era, an era of a transition by mankind from capitalism to socialism, of a strong national reawakening of the peoples and nations, also meant for the communist and workers parties the rediscovery of their own national identity, stifled by the Comintern's practices, the rethinking of their own history, and the anchoring in the history of the country and people to which they belonged. As Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stated at the Expanded Plenum of the RCP Central Committee on 1-2 June 1982, "I believe that the view that we had of having two histories, a parallel history of the party, is a remnant of the old view as far back as the Second International, according to which the communist parties have their history, should not necessarily take national interests into account, and sometimes should even ignore them. We must eliminate completely this past that was very negative for the party and our people."<sup>3</sup>

The communist movement's old monolithic unity, based on a ruling center, was compounded by the application of the principle of proletarian internationalism to some much amplified and diversified structures and articulations of the world anti-imperialist front. A series of distortions and mystifications, which referred to the following, thus appeared: the conceiving of a monolithic, exclusivistic unity and solidarity, just with those communist parties, revolutionary forces, movements, countries, etc. that accepted the existence and absolute supremacy of a ruling center in the international communist and working-class movement; the imposition of the principle of democratic centralism in decisionmaking on the scale of the communist movement; the consideration of the attitude toward the first socialist country in the world as a criterion, "a touchstone of proletarian internationalism"; the subordination of national interest to "socialism's general interests"; the imposition of a certain model, of a certain experience of a certain country or party, as obligatory for all countries in socialist revolution and construction; the conceiving of the transition to socialism in the context of "the armed world

revolution"; etc.<sup>4</sup> In general, in the case of the old unity, it was a question of imposing the ideology of "monolithism" and the "unique model" on the scale of the communist movement--and it is known how much it had to suffer from the dogmatized ideological systems connected with the existence of a ruling center, from the fact that, in the attempt to clarify major problems of the communist movement and the unity of the contemporary world, there was often recourse to the method of condemnation and exclusion and not truly friendly, comradely criticism, a matter that did not help either to clarify the problems or to strengthen the unity of the international communist, working-class, progressive, and democratic movement. But history has confirmed that, first, the appearance of the "case" of the Yugoslav way of turning to socialism and, in ensuing years, of "socialism having the national colors of France," of "Eurocommunism" with the gradual, peaceful, parliamentary transition to "democratic socialism," of the "Italian historical compromise," or even of the so-called "Romanian nationalism in socialist construction"--to mention just a few examples of so-called deviation from internationalism--can no longer be decreed "heretical ways," since these strategies are based on freedom of choice, in accordance with their own historical, national features, without losing sight of the general laws, but rejecting the incentives of external origin (as it was in the past).<sup>5</sup>

The postwar national and international realities, the victories of the anti-fascist, anti-imperialist revolutions for national, colonial, socialist liberation in a large number of countries and on many continents, the appearance of the socialist world and the Third World, the change in the world balance of power in favor of progress, democracy, socialism, and peace, and the establishment of a course of international detente--all these things favored the appearance and development of better relations in the international communist and working-class movement, in all the components of the world anti-imperialist front. The gradual normalization of the relations between the communist, socialist, and social democratic parties as parties of the working class was of particular importance. The processes of opening up and the dialogue, on both a national and an international level, occurred in both directions. After condemning the personality cult and dogmatism, after abandoning the practices of infringing on democracy and abuses and illegalities, after the historic successes obtained in socialist construction, and after abandoning the insulting epithets against the socialists and social democrats in the years of the Comintern, the communists were then able to appeal to them with greater credibility and moral influence for collaboration and unity of action. In their turn, the socialist and social democratic parties and the Socialist International had experienced and were experiencing a deep process of political radicalization, of orientation of the programs and practical actions toward the left, a matter that ultimately brought resounding political successes, the taking of political power in France, Greece, Portugal, and Spain. Under these conditions, the communists no longer had any reservations toward the socialists and social democrats, even supporting them in their action of governing, as in France, Portugal, and other countries.

All these new realities helped to inaugurate a process of gradual abandonment of the old sectarian principles and methods and of establishment of new principles of collaboration among the communist parties, on the one hand, and

between them and all the forces of the world anti-imperialist front, on the other hand, in expanding the sphere, content, and tasks of contemporary internationalism. Moreover, starting precisely from such broad political alliances that must be formed now among all the anti-imperialist forces, some communist parties, including the RCP, consider the term "international solidarity" more suitable for reflecting the content, sphere, and requirements of the internationalism of our times than the term "proletarian internationalism," which can introduce a distinction with a restrictive character, narrowing the anti-imperialist front, or the term "socialist internationalism," which could generate equivocations and ambiguities regarding the new principles of relations among the socialist countries, meanings and interpretations that served in the past and sometimes still serve even now to justify practices clearly contradictory to these principles.<sup>6</sup>

The new unity that is being established gradually is a necessity in the contemporary era. Precisely because it is a voluntary and not imposed unity, because it recognizes the diversity of historical and national conditions, it will be a "unity in diversity," as Lenin stated in his time. At the same time, the new unity of the international communist and working-class movement is strong because it is based on recognition of the autonomy, independence, sovereignty, and equality of all the communist parties, on their inalienable right to devise and apply their general political line to socialist revolution and construction in conformity with the specific historical and national character. The requirements, characteristics, and principles of the new unity of the contemporary international communist and working-class movement were defined skillfully by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu at the plenum in June 1982, when he stated that "In view of the diversity of the conditions in which the communist and workers parties perform their activity, there are a number of differences of opinion on some problems. We feel that solidarity, collaboration, must be achieved on the basis of the principles of full equality and of respect for each party's right to devise its political line in accordance with the realities in the respective country. It is necessary for us to bear in mind that each party performs its activity independently and is responsible only to its own working class, its own people, for the way in which it acts to defend their interests. The new unity must start from this reality and must provide for wide international collaboration on the basic problems of the contemporary world."<sup>7</sup>

In Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's view, the new unity must exclude completely the idea of an international ruling center and the whole gamut of negative practices used in the past, which supplied arguments for bourgeois, anticommunist propaganda for accusing socialism of "exportation of revolution." Despite the fact that the Conference of Communist Parties in Europe, held in Berlin in 1976, strongly affirmed the new principles of relations among parties and that the trend toward political independence subsequently grew stronger, the tendency of interference in the internal affairs of parties, of violation of equal rights, and of hegemony unfortunately continues to be manifested even now and pressure is put on parties so that they would adopt viewpoints and positions that they do not consider suited to the conditions in the respective countries and would accept the adoption of obligatory documents within international meetings devoted to exchanges of opinions and experience. Moreover,

an attempt is being made by some to "theorize" the necessity of "the universal socialist strategy," "the priority of international interests," and "the necessity of subordinating national interests to international interests"; the principle of the independence and autonomy of the parties, which would allegedly constitute a deviation from the requirements of international solidarity, is being called in question. and the parties that try to establish their strategy and tactics independently are called "revisionist" or "reformist," reflecting "the pressure of bourgeois ideology," etc.<sup>8</sup>

Despite the difficulties that still arise, the new unity is an imperative of the modern era that has its origin in the diversity of national conditions existing in the world and in the fact that the world of today and the world of tomorrow will be a world of nations and that in the transition to socialism it is absolutely necessary to take this truth into account. In the RCP secretary general's view, "There is no model for socialist construction. The general laws are applied differently from one country to another, from one stage of economic and social development to another. Starting from these principles, it is not possible to deny a country's socialist character or the socialism that will be achieved in the future. The diversity of the ways of turning to socialism, of building the new social order, and of applying the general laws to the real conditions in each country is giving a new dimension and a new perspective to the socialist development of the world, is enriching the treasury of revolutionary theory and practice."<sup>9</sup> In this context, it is more and more necessary to rapidly normalize the relations among the communist and workers parties, to overcome the differences, to abandon any condemnation or interference in internal affairs, and to achieve a new, sincere, and strong international unity and collaboration.

Starting from this major commandment of the contemporary era and from the rich internationalist traditions of old, the RCP will also militate steadily in the future to achieve a new unity of the international communist and working-class movement, developing broad relations of collaboration with all the communist and workers, socialist and social democratic parties, with the ruling parties in the Third World countries, with the national liberation movements, with other progressive, democratic, anti-imperialist political and social parties, formations, movements, with all the components of the contemporary world revolutionary process in the struggle for peace, social progress, democracy, and socialism.

In conclusion, while the old unity of the international communist movement was based on a supranational ruling center, on the application of the principle of proletarian or socialist internationalism, conceived as limited strictly just to those parties and countries that accepted leadership from the "center" and the "unique model," excluding many other parties, the new unity of the international communist and working-class movement must be based exclusively on the independence, sovereignty, autonomy, and equality of all the communist and workers parties, of all the components of the world anti-imperialist front, in devising and applying their political, strategic, and tactical line in accordance with their historical, national realities, and on broad international solidarity that would naturally include all the communist and workers, socialist, and social democratic parties, the national liberation movements, the

ruling parties in the Third World countries, the democratic parties in the capitalist countries, and other progressive, anti-imperialist, pacifist forces and movements participating in the struggle for democracy, progress, socialism, and peace. Our party is consistently militating for such a unity of a new type. "In view of the complex problems that face the contemporary world," Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stated at the 13th RCP Congress, "we consider it necessary that everything be done to overcome differences, to strengthen solidarity and achieve a new unity, based on equality, on respect for each party's right to devise its political line independently, in accordance with the historical, national, and social conditions in each country.... Such a policy corresponds fully to the interests of our socialist nation and to the interests of all peoples of the world. We will spare no effort to contribute to the triumph of reason, of wisdom, to the cause of the people's independence, of collaboration and peace in the world."<sup>10</sup>

The RCP can be proud now, on its 65th anniversary, that throughout its glorious revolutionary existence it has fought tirelessly for the defense of the basic interests of the working class, for the triumph of the social and national ideals of the Romanian people, for the victory of socialist revolution and construction in our country, and, at the same time, faithful to internationalism, to international solidarity, it has supported the struggle for liberation of the oppressed peoples, of the revolutionary and progressive forces throughout the world. To this end, it is also expanding its ties of militant solidarity with all the forces of the contemporary world revolutionary front. "We have the firm belief," the secretary general of our party stated, "that, acting together, the peoples can change the course of events, can prevent world war and nuclear catastrophe, can impose international peace and disarmament. Although there are many problems to solve, we view with complete confidence mankind's bright future of peace and well-being. Let us do everything to contribute actively to the achievement of a righter and better world, a world of equality, liberty, independence, and peace."<sup>11</sup>

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Constantin Florea and Traian Caraciuc, "The Communist Movement and the Imperatives of the Contemporary World," in the volume "O lume in schimbare. Realitati, contradictii, perspective" [A World in Change. Realities, Contradictions, Perspectives], 1982, Politica Publishing House, Bucharest, p 81.
2. K. Marx and F. Engels, "Opere" [Works], Vol 21, Politica Publishing House, Bucharest, 1965, p 259.
3. Nicolae Ceausescu, "Expunere cu privire la stadiul actual si edificarii socialismului in tara noastra, la problemele teoretice, ideologice si activitatea politica, educativa a partidului, prezentata la Plenara largita a Comitetului Central al Partidului Comunist Roman, 1-2 iunie 1982" [A Speech on the Current Stage of the Construction of Socialism in Our Country, on the Theoretical, Ideological Problems and the Political, Educational Activity of the Party, Presented at the Expanded Plenum of the

Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party, 1-2 June 1982],  
Politica Publishing House, Bucharest, 1982, p 63.

4. Aleksandar Grlicikov, "Current Coordinates of International Collaboration and Solidarity," ERA SOCIALISTA, 1, 1981, p 40.
5. Valter Roman, "Echilibru si dezechilibru" [Balance and Imbalance], Stiintifica si Enciclopedica Publishing House, Bucharest, 1978, p 104.
6. Constantin Florea and Traian Caraciuc, op. cit., p 87.
7. Nicolae Ceausescu, op. cit., p 80.
8. Constantin Florea and Traian Caraciuc, op. cit., pp 83-84.
9. Nicolae Ceausescu, op. cit., pp 80-81.
10. Nicolae Ceausescu, "Raport la cel de-al XIII-lea Congres al Partidului Comunist Roman" [A Report to the 13th Congress of the Romanian Communist Party], Politica Publishing House, Bucharest, 1984, p 87.
11. Ibidem, p 89.

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CSO: 2700/306

POLITICS

ROMANIA

LITERARY 'PRIZE HUNTERS', CRITICS CENSURED

Iasi CONVORBIRI LITERARE in Romanian No 9, Sep 86 p 12

[Article by Ioanid Deleanu: "On Making a Debut"]

[Excerpts] Our magazines compete with each other to launch a new name. One can hardly open a publication of the cultural-literary type without running into at least one aspirant to literary glory. This isn't a bad idea at all, if we consider the permanent need for continuity and regeneration, something especially necessary in art.

Certain statistical-comparative calculations might paint a very rosy picture of this "continuous flux" of talents which "substantially exceed productivity quotas." Persons more or less authorized to do so have been endorsing the works of poetry and prose of these candidates, often trying to convince us of the seriousness of their efforts. Their lively pens, touched by the breeze of their own nostalgia, send forth glib judgments and are not reluctant to share with us the pearls of those award winners. And so, all of a sudden the unknown scribbler becomes (in the words of master X, his protector) "an exceptional poet," "a remarkable poet," "a unique sensitivity," "an intelligent structure" and so on. Except that the supporting "proofs" don't quite measure up to the enthusiastic predictions. Gheorghe Chitimus, one of the recently discovered "voices," is recommended by his "endorser" in the following categorical terms: "He is without any inadequacies which characterize a beginner. He does not rest on his laurels. He is a master of fluid, firm and evanescent movements, as if in a classical ballet." If that is indeed the case, our distinguished newcomer has got it made. All he has to do is pin his "certificates" on his chest and head for the nearest publishing house. Why should he have to sweat over every word when his talent is so impressive?

This isn't the only case. It is well known that a great deal is being written and that editorial offices are being swamped with the resulting "productions." Selectivity (on the basis of merit, of course), entails taking such responsibility seriously. At this point, I would like to go (again) into practices followed during creativity contests, especially in poetry. The proliferation of these contests has led to the appearance of so-called hunters of prizes who, dressed up in the title of "laureate" demand the right to be "recognized," one



form of which being, of course, publication. This is why those few well-meaning words, sometimes improvised quickly, can have undesirable effects. But it must not be inferred from this that we are against encouraging new talents. On the contrary. A single guiding principle must be observed: awarding "certificates of fame" is not at all in keeping with the noble task of discovering and promoting truly authentic "voices."

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CSO: 2700/43

POLITICS

ROMANIA

BUCOVINA ROMANIANS 'REMAINED PATRIOTIC' DESPITE HAPSBURG RULE

Iasi CONVORBIRI LITERARE in Romanian No 8 Aug 86 p 12

[Article by Petru Russindilar: "The Significance of Permanence"]

[Excerpts] Having exhausted other methods of suppressing the movement for Romanian national liberation, the Hapsburg authorities, especially during the 1898-1904 period, resorted to a new method of putting the brakes on the struggle for unification and emancipation: the question of the tricolored flag. Evidently, during this period, when the struggle of the Romanian people against foreign domination intensified, a conflict arose with the Hapsburg administration concerning the display of national colors. All Romanians insisted on wearing these colors: intellectuals wore them on their lapels, girls wore tricolored ribbons in their hair and young men from villages wore tricolored woven belts. At the same time, the Romanian tricolored flag was flown during all celebrations organized by Romanians from Bucovina.

When they launched an entire campaign against the Romanian tricolored flag, the Hapsburg authorities provoked great and legitimate dissatisfaction. Arrests took place, as well as unjust trials and accusations. But in spite of these persecutions, the Romanian populace strongly affirmed the idea that "the tricolored flag bonds us to tradition; we consider it the most precious jewel of our fate."

It is worth emphasizing that the Romanian flag received powerful support during the 1870s. Stagings of Romanian plays always displayed the flag, thus facilitating support for this national symbol. These theatrical productions played an important role in the cultural life of the province. The theaters were always full and the enthusiasm indescribable, especially among students. Students savored the Romanian language as spoken on the stage, were warmed by the plays' patriotic ideas, looked for books by Romanian authors and tried to write poetry and even plays in the Romanian language.

The Romanians from Bucovina expressed their aspirations towards unification by wearing tricolored items, which for them symbolized national culture and the character of "our nationality in all lands inhabited by Romanians."

It is in this context that, beginning in 1898, the infamous oppression against the flag was launched, for the purpose of labeling Bucovina Romanians as

"irredentists." Austrian authorities lowered the flag from rooftops, tore it from young people's breasts and from girls' hair. The persecution was also aimed in the direction of the newspaper PATRIA [THE MOTHERLAND] which echoed the feelings of those oppressed. The newspaper was suspended and confiscated many times and its editor, Valeriu Braniste, was expelled from Bucovina by order of Baron Bourguignon, the governor of Bucovina.

At the same time, a few issues of the newspaper VOLKSPRESSE--organ of the socialist movement of Bucovina--were also confiscated. The socialist movement of this province, however, argued firmly for the defense of the flag and demonstrated, in the years that followed, that the tricolored flag is the supreme flag of all Romanians "regardless of political affiliation."

The uncommon vigor with which the national character was preserved, the courage and tenacity with which the Romanian people knew how to prevail at crucial moments, all these were typical of the movement of national liberation in Bucovina. The newspaper PATRIA noted these features, emphasizing at the beginning of the 20th century: "One hundred and twenty five years have passed since we Bucovina Romanians became part of the Austro-Hungarian empire. If we were to cast a retrospective glance at the past and compare it with the present, we should come to the conclusion that the survival of our people in these ancient lands of our forefathers is the result not of a system of government favorable to us but rather to the inborn vitality of our people."

It is significant that at the beginning of the 20th century, youth from Suceava and from other cities, especially high school students, formed secret societies during which patriotic speeches were given and patriotic songs were sung. During the secret meetings held under the walls of the Stephen the Great Castle, they took on oath on the flag to remain faithful to their dream: the destruction of Austro-Hungary and the unification with the country from which they had been severed.

In spite of the obstacles and difficulties encountered, the struggle for national liberation triumphed, in accordance with the requirements of historical progress, in the second decade of the 20th century. Considering national unity an inexorable objective necessity required by the laws of social development themselves, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stated that "the analysis based on historical and dialectical materialism demonstrates without doubt that national sentiments and the desire for nationhood have been developed and preserved with resolve, in spite of foreign domination and oppression. Not even the perpetration of the foreign yoke over a period of hundreds of years has succeeded in changing the national characteristics of a people or blocking the creation of nations."

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- END -